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**RED FLAG**

**No. 24, 16 December 1980**

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# CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 24, 16 December 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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## BE A THOROUGHGOING MATERIALIST

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 80 pp 2-8

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] Be a thoroughgoing materialist. This is a basic requirement for our vast numbers of cadres, especially cadres doing propaganda, theoretical and press work. This is not a new issue. It is a question of the fundamental stand, viewpoint and methods of Marxists. At the Lushan meeting in 1970, Comrade Mao Zedong said: Whether we should follow idealist apriorism or the materialist theory of reflection--this is a fundamental question of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

Past practice has proved time and again that as far as many of our comrades are concerned, the question of whether we should practice thoroughgoing materialism or practice idealism has not been solved. Some comrades were correct in the beginning, but later they departed from materialism, practiced idealism and committed mistakes. Some comrades subjectively wanted to practice materialism, but in reality slid toward idealism.

Here, I would like to dwell on five aspects of how to be a thoroughgoing materialist.

### 1. How Is One To Deal With Instructions From Higher Levels With the Thoroughgoing Materialist Spirit?

Incorrect attitudes toward instructions from higher levels are often important aspects of our departing from materialism and committing subjective mistakes.

What are the higher levels? There are higher organizations, higher institutions, higher departments and higher responsible persons. These concepts are related, but are not entirely the same. When inner-party life is unsound, the organization and party committee is replaced by individuals, and democratic centralism is undermined. Therefore, we cannot equate individual responsible persons at higher levels with higher levels, and we cannot regard what comes from an individual as what must be firmly followed. Of course, it often happens that at a certain time under certain circumstances, without discussion and decision by the party committee, an individual discovers a problem and puts forward a very good and incisive opinion. However, generally speaking, an opinion that has been discussed by all concerned is always better than the opinion of an individual, and collective wisdom is always superior to that of an individual. Therefore, it is

improper to take the opinion of a higher responsible individual as a decision and instruction of the higher level.

Should what comes from the higher levels be implemented? Of course it should be implemented. However, in implementing instructions from higher levels and the party Central Committee, party committees at various levels must link these instructions with the concrete conditions of each area and each unit. A fundamental Marxist principle is to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete conditions of one's own country. This principle is universally applicable. At any time, if we fail to interpret in concrete terms the opinions of higher levels and the party Central Committee, even though they are correct opinions, in the light of the conditions in each area and each unit, and are content with copying, forwarding, acting on and applying instructions word for word, we are wrong and cannot possibly do our work well. This is because the party Central Committee proceeds from the general situation in the country as a whole and can only stress general principles. It is also impossible for the party Central Committee and the higher levels to think of everything and make proper arrangements for everything. Particularly in such a big country as ours, the situation is very complicated and things are constantly developing. It is impossible for the party Central Committee to carefully and thoroughly think over every problem. Therefore, since the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the central authorities have made four suggestions to the local authorities: What the central authorities have not thought of, the local authorities may think of; what the central authorities have not ordered done, the local authorities may act on, if they know for sure they are doing the right thing; if what the central authorities have said is not suited to local conditions, the local authorities may make appropriate adaptations; if the decision of the central authorities is wrong, the local authorities may argue. Think, act, adapt and argue. Of course, in accordance with organizational principles, all these have to be promptly reported to the authorities at higher and the central levels, or opinions should be exchanged with or instructions requested from these higher and central authorities. At the same time, what should be centralized must be centralized, and unified commands must be obeyed. Otherwise, if everyone goes his own way without letting the higher and central authorities know what's going on, that will cause problems. Implementing instructions of higher authorities in the light of the actual conditions--this is acting according to materialism.

Is it possible for the higher levels to make mistakes? Is it possible for the central authorities to make mistakes? Is it possible for the responsible comrades of the central organs to make mistakes? All this is possible. Under particular conditions, it is also possible to have mistakes in decisions by the central authorities, in documents issued by the central authorities, and in the views of the comrades of the central organs. Since the late 1950's, the responsible comrades of the central organs have begun to divorce themselves from their own correct ideas and made mistakes due to the lack of democratic life within the party and the lack of correct criticism and self-criticism. For many years, particularly in the heyday of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," personality cults were practiced, individuals were treated as gods, and whatever they said and did was considered 100 percent correct. One would be given praise for being perceptive of the minutest detail, knowing everything thoroughly and being a great savior. All this was a manifestation of feudal ideology. We even practiced a

personality cult for a certain period of time after the downfall of the "gang of four," causing extremely harmful results. The practice of personality cults will make it impossible for us to have democratic centralism in the party, to seek truth from facts, to emancipate our minds, to prevent rule by the voice of one single person, patriarchal system and other feudal aristocratic practices, and to prevent certain bad persons from using personality cults to practice fascism. Therefore, we must sternly criticize personality cults, which is something completely against Marxism. From this time hence we should never practice it again. Some of us communists are capable and some are less capable, but no one is absolutely capable nor is anyone absolutely incapable.

For a considerably long period of time, a habit has been developed in many localities--the habit of conveying upper-level directives verbatim down to the grassroots level by level. As a result, people completely disregard the actual conditions of their own localities and units and fail to discuss seriously what should be done and how to do it. They think that they have done their job when the directives are conveyed. We must resolutely abolish such a mechanical, formalistic practice. The feudalistic personality cult will inevitably bind our thinking and create abnormal political situations. As a result, irresponsibility will emerge and creativity will disappear. This will also cause such bad habits as shirking responsibility, awaiting and relying on others' help. In the history of our party, such a situation happened during the period of the Wang Ming line. Our minds were not emancipated until we eliminated the personality cult. Later on it revived again. Although efforts have been made to stem it in the past few years, it still exists in many localities. We must make an utmost determination to correct this bad practice. Otherwise, there can be no such thing as a lively political atmosphere as well as vigorous creativity.

## 2. How To Deal With Oneself or One's Own Work With a Thoroughgoing Materialistic Spirit

It is indeed not easy to deal with oneself with a thoroughgoing materialistic spirit. According to Marxist theory, individuals can play only two roles in history: When we act in accordance with the law of historical development, as well as the will of the masses, we can more or less play a role as a motive force of history. On the other hand, if we violate the law of historical development or go against the will of the masses of the people, we more or less retard or obstruct historical progress.

We should not place individuals above the masses of the people, nor place individuals outside the scope of the law of history. Individuals cannot have their own way in promoting the progress of history. Why was the call for "overthrowing the Liu-Deng headquarters" not achieved even after 10 years? It is because the call violates the law of the development of history and it is against the common aspirations of the party and the people. Why was the "gang of four" smashed at one blow? It is because they violated the law of the development of history and because they did not have mass support. It was just as easy as crushing dry weeds or smashing rotten wood. Without one cannonball and without one bullet, they were overthrown. Since the "gang of four" brought calamity to the country and the people, they were unpopular for a long time and had long been a mere skeleton.

The people learned a lesson from their crimes and the people had long been aroused to wage struggle. The Tiananmen incident laid down a powerful mass base for smashing the "gang of four." Therefore, in the final analysis, the "gang of four" crashed through the force of the masses of the people. This was inevitable in the development of history and it was a lively manifestation of the masses of people promoting the progress of history. Comrades of the central authorities had made contributions by complying with the common aspirations of the party and the people, by making a strategic policy decision, by smashing the "gang of four" and by reducing the damage to our party. However, the two cannot be reversed. Once they are reversed, it is not only anti-Marxist but also erroneous. It should be noted that the law of the development of history and the common aspirations of the people still have to be put in first place.

As for the question of publicizing the historical role of individuals, we are still confused to a great extent both ideologically and theoretically. This question has not been clarified even now. Hereafter we should never use such terms as great savior or such remarks as "the visit of leading cadres to our unit has given us the greatest encouragement, will greatly spur us on, has given us greatest education and greatest happiness." Some comrades among us are prone to be influenced by the ideology of small-scale production. They fail to have a broad vision because they have taken the weak role of petty producers and they need others to represent them. They often look to a great savior for help and regard themselves as incapable of action. It is necessary to work on the narrow-mindedness of these petty producers and on feudal superstition and gradually emancipate the people from the shackles of such ideas.

According to Marxism, the masses of the people are creators and masters of history. Many problems can be clarified by correctly dealing with the individual's role in history. For example, people always have shortcomings and make mistakes. There is no perfect man and no one can be 100 percent correct. Each comrade may make achievements and has merits and at the same time he may make mistakes and has shortcomings. Achievements and merits only differ by degree; mistakes and shortcomings differ in nature and seriousness. However, there will never be someone who has never committed mistakes.

Furthermore, where do achievements come from? They come mainly from training by the party. Achievements are made by carrying out the party's correct line. Of course, an individual's efforts are inseparable from his achievements. Where do mistakes come from? People make mistakes when they take the erroneous line, but they may also make mistakes while taking the correct line. In this case, the individual must be responsible for his own mistakes. Therefore, under certain historical conditions, everyone fails the question of initiative. We must bring our initiative into play and never take ourselves as inactive or passive.

There is still another question, the question of criticism and self-criticism. There are mistakes as well as achievements in our work, and we need to constantly sum up the experience. This in turn requires criticism and self-criticism. How can we say we are telling the truth and correctly summing up our experience if we stubbornly insist that what is plainly wrong or bad is something right or good? In criticism and self-criticism, we need to learn to correctly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions. In our country a great deal of the

contradictions are those among the people. They can often develop into mutually exclusive antagonisms if they are not properly handled. Recently ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO published a newsletter "The Power of Love" describing two girls who tried to commit suicide but who were ultimately saved after many of our comrades promptly and sincerely did ideological-political work on them. This example tells us that painstaking and patient work can prevent many of the contradictions among the people from becoming acute and can lead to their satisfactory resolution.

Among various central and local party and government departments, there are also contradictions which are in the nature of those among the people. These contradictions should not be intensified either. They should be appropriately resolved through criticism and self-criticism. In this respect we have profound historical lessons. Many things that reflected contradictions among the people in the beginning and could have been resolved through criticism and self-criticism turned out to have serious consequences because some comrades chose to intensify the contradictions.

Here we need also to emphasize one point in particular. When contradictions among the people become intensified because they are erroneously handled, we must keep cool and refrain from following this example and stirring up a commotion. We need to exercise patience, to consciously render the situation "passive" and give it "a cold treatment." As the saying goes, a prime minister's heart is big enough to float a boat in. It pays to listen to different views. Historical experience tells us that under circumstances when there are different views, first, we must not wash our hands, and second, we must not hastily strike back. If we believe we are right, why do we wash our hands to make us appear as if we were wrong? If we feel there is something in us which is not correct, why do we continue to stick to it? If we are right, nothing others say against us will change it. If we have shortcomings and they are pointed out by others, we should admit them. This will put things right and make things easier to resolve. Thus, we must always adopt the attitude of "one divides into two" toward ourselves. We must conduct criticism and self-criticism and avoid making ourselves the ones responsible for intensifying the contradictions.

### 3. How To Approach the Affairs of Our State in the Spirit of Thoroughgoing Materialism

Ours is a country with a socialist system. Were the 31 years after the founding of our people's republic dynamic or chaotic, bright or dark? On the whole, if we look at historical trends, they were bright and dynamic years. First, socialism is a new thing. In the long process of man's historical development, there is only a short period since the socialist system appeared on earth. Practical experience with a social system is, therefore, extremely limited. Second, China is a large country with a fourth of the world's population. A foreign statesman once said: You have a population of a billion. We would not know what to do by our standards! This is true. Therefore, we must not speak of a socialist system as if it were utterly worthless. Socialism and communism represent the most advanced social system in the history of mankind. This point is indisputable. It is true that because some scoundrels surfaced in our party and some of our leaders committed errors, at times the superiority of our socialist system was not fully demonstrated. But, this cannot deny the inherent superiority of the

socialist system. Failure to bring the superiority into full play is different from a lack of superiority. We must not confuse this point. In 31 years we made tremendous achievements. Chief among them: First, we abolished the system of exploitation, established socialist public ownership and preliminarily put into practice "to each according to his work." Second, we have laid a fair material foundation for building socialism. With these two achievements, we reached a foothold to press forward. We must not throw away our achievements simply because we admit we have made mistakes.

Our party and state did experience a serious crisis which peaked on the eve of the Tiananmen incident in 1976. It was basically brought to an end after the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially with the holding of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. But we are still not free of the aftereffects of that crisis. Economically we confront a host of serious problems that must be tackled in real earnest and to good effect. Therefore, we must do economic and propaganda work carefully. In a word, we must not frighten ourselves, nor lower our guard. We must firmly believe that the party and the people can take practical and effective measures to surmount various temporary difficulties and to solve various temporary problems.

We now face very complicated problems and have a great deal of work to do. To put our country onto a sounder path, we must basically do two things: First, it is necessary to strive for a steady expansion of the national economy, including some improvement in the people's life and in the development of cultural, educational and scientific undertakings. This requires that we firmly carry out the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving, with the stress on readjusting.

Readjustment should be continued next year and capital construction should be further curtailed. All unnecessary projects should be stopped with a firm hand, and no project should be started blindly. Economic construction is our central task. Party committees, governments and propaganda departments at all levels must serve economic construction in a down-to-earth manner. Continued efforts should be made to remove factors detrimental to stability and unity. Stability and unity do not mean that we do not do anything or that we only act according to old rules and regulations. If we were to do nothing or only act according to old rules and regulations, there would be no stability. We must resolutely struggle against proven counterrevolutionaries in accordance with law. We must remove elements of the factional setups of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" from leading positions and study and take effective measures to stop activities by those so-called "dissidents" who are actually antiparty and antisocialist. With the development of history, we must bring the positive factors of stability and unity into full play and remove negative factors detrimental to stability and unity. What are positive factors? They are, for instance, carrying forward our party's glorious traditions, improving our democratic life, strengthening our legal system and so forth. What are negative factors? They are, for instance, unhealthy tendencies and so forth. To bring positive factors into full play and remove negative factors, of course, calls for paying attention to the art of leadership, doing things in order of importance and urgency, adopting correct measures and methods and taking correct steps.

#### 4. How To Deal With the Masses in a Thoroughgoing Materialist Spirit

The overwhelming majority of our workers, peasants and intellectuals are very good. Under no circumstances must we become confused about this. Reading reports on accidents all day long, some of our comrades think that there are numerous accidents. But this is not the case. The number of wrongdoers and troublemakers in our country is very small in terms of our population. Comrade Mao Zedong told us that the process of development of man's knowledge covers the stage of perceptual knowledge and that of rational knowledge and that perceptual knowledge should develop into rational knowledge and should not remain where it is. However, the knowledge of many of our comrades who are confused by some superficial phenomena remains at the perceptual stage. We should note the existence of problems, but we should also note that some problems are only minor ones concerning a very small number of people. Only by having such an understanding will we be able not to be alarmed and bewildered. We should also note that many problems were originally contradictions among the people that have aggravated due to our failure to perform our work well or to handle such problems properly. Our ideological work is very important in this regard. Therefore, it is completely wrong and amounts to failing to fulfill our duty as a communist if we should fail to do work among the masses, to raise their consciousness and to guide them forward. Our duty is to transform society and the people so that the people's consciousness will be raised to a higher level.

We have often criticized bureaucratism. One important manifestation of the bureaucrats is that they only handle official business in office and are divorced from the masses. It will be easy for bureaucratism to emerge if we fail to mobilize our party, trade union and CYL organizations and cadres to go among the masses, to become one with them, to understand their feelings and to reflect their wishes and demands. Lenin said a great deal in this regard, and so did Comrade Mao Zedong. We must not depart from the masses and must carry out our work more effectively among them. The stress of our work should be placed on arousing the people of all nationalities throughout the country to work hard with one heart and one mind to realize the four modernizations and to make our country strong and on arousing their lofty sentiments, aspirations and heroism to transform China.

At the same time, we should promote the good social practice of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of the public interest and of finding it a pleasure to help others. Our social system has paved the way for fostering such good social practices. The practice of each trying to cheat or outwit the other is negated under a socialist system. However, such phenomena as the practice of each trying to cheat or outwit the other have not yet ceased to exist--there are still such phenomena which may even develop. But they are much or many times less here than in capitalist countries.

We should guide our young people to work hard in a down-to-earth manner for the prosperity of the country and to make more and better contributions to the people. We should prevent young people from becoming shortsighted or trying to reach for what is beyond their grasp. Young people have strong points as well as weaknesses. Their weaknesses are that they are prone to be shortsighted, to try to reach for what is beyond their grasp and to be impractical or to be so myopic as

to see their own little world only. In propaganda, we must not encourage young people to develop weaknesses. We must promote positive things and encourage young people to work hard for the prosperity of the country, to sacrifice their own interests for the sake of public interest and to advance vigorously. We are bringing order out of chaos and undertaking the four modernizations. There are numerous real, stirring deeds performed by the masses and cadres. Those in our ideological, theoretical, literary and art circles and in the press should reflect more of such deeds. Stirring examples that have occurred in real life and in building our great country are the best teaching materials for the education of the people. However, we have not done enough in this regard.

We must value intellectuals and attach due importance to culture and education. Intellectuals play an important role. In our country there is a general lack of learning among our people, and learning is inseparable from intellectuals. We have not yet finished our job of implementing the relevant policies toward intellectuals. Intellectuals have not been used appropriately enough. They still face many practical problems, such as housing, separations from spouses and wages. Yet, surprisingly, there are comrades who have declared that our treatment of intellectuals is overdone and that intellectuals are beginning to show conceit. The existence of this attitude shows that there are great obstacles to implementing policies on intellectuals. Now, when the intellectuals have just begun to raise their heads, a few comrades are trying to bat them down. This demands that we work on these comrades.

For years our attitude toward learning and intellectuals has been in many respects neither materialist nor Marxist. Today we must change this state in which intellectuals are discriminated against. We must overcome the vestiges of a mentality that discriminates against intellectuals. We must make up our minds and take steps to resolve this issue.

At present, there are still many shanty towns in our country. Banqiao commune in Baoshan County, Yunnan, is really a good commune with a per-mou grain yield reaching 1,700 jin. In comparison, the condition of Banqiao ward is far worse. The ward originally had 600 households, with 120 households engaging in handicraft and service trade. Because of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, the liberation war, the democratic reform and, on top of them, the "Great Cultural Revolution," many residents of our small towns moved out to take up farming and many small stores disappeared. Now we are going to develop a commodity economy. But we cannot do so without restoring our small towns. We cannot prevent intellectuals in the rural areas from moving to big cities without first resolving the question of small towns. If there are only large and medium-sized cities but no small towns in our country, there will be no political, economic and cultural centers in our rural areas.

In resolving the question of towns, we must first of all decide the direction of their development. We must vigorously develop collective undertakings, service trade, handicraft and catering services. In the ideological-political field and in social ethics, we need to launch a drive to emphasize civil manners, common courtesy, sanitation, order and moral standards. To do this, we need to adopt effective measures and proceed in a down-to-earth manner. We must not rush headlong into mass action. Social order in small towns will improve when we open

up more photo studios, barbershops, public bath-houses and recreation centers. Therefore, to improve social order, we must not only understand how to arrest criminals but must also try to increase job opportunities and develop education, culture and recreation so that young people will have work to do, books to read and places to go for recreation. If we do this, our society will become prosperous and stable. Our current work concerning medium-sized and small towns is very insufficient and should be strengthened. We need to build up small towns by selecting a few for development to gain experience.

### 5. How To Approach Party Leadership in the Spirit of Thoroughgoing Materialism

The destiny of socialism is closely linked with party leadership. It is impossible to talk about adhering to the socialist road without treating party leadership. Our party is the mainstay of the PRC. Our party alone is able to lead the Chinese nation to a rejuvenation. This is beyond any doubt. Other political parties had their chances and failed. The Kuomintang failed. It is also true that our party alone is able to lead the socialist revolution in China.

On the whole, the great majority of our 18 million cadres and 38 million party members, whether young or old, green or seasoned, are good. There should be no doubt about this. It is mainly due to sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques that the party has been severely harmed and its militancy greatly weakened. This, plus faults in our work, means that the ideas of party members are "dustier" than they were before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the old Yanan days. Quite a number of party members are not up to standard or not quite up to standard. Our party image has suffered great damage. If we are blind to this aspect of the matter, we are not materialists. The party's prestige is not high now. This is why we must insist on leadership by the party and improve it. Without improvement, we cannot persist in party leadership.

Our party went through two stages during its 60-year history. It spent 28 years carrying out democratic revolution and seizing political power, and it has been a ruling party over the past 31 years. Is there any basic difference between a ruling party and an underground party or nonruling parties? What is the danger to a party after it has assumed power? The danger is that it will degenerate if it works carelessly. After it has assumed power, the party cannot order the masses and must not become the rulers and the ruling class of the old society. It is theoretically and practically possible that socialism may degenerate into social imperialism. Mussolini, who used to be a believer in socialism, later became a fascist. In China, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also wanted to turn socialism into social fascism. This is a very serious problem. To solve this problem and to prevent the party from degenerating, an important requirement is that we must earnestly improve the party's leadership.

There is a whole series of problems that we must study in order to improve the party's leadership. For example, the problems of the strengthening of democratic centralism and abolishing the leading cadres' lifetime tenure, and so forth. Another important requirement is to resolutely combat unhealthy tendencies. To combat unhealthy tendencies is a question of principle which is unshakable.

Of course this task will encounter great obstacles. But we must firmly adhere to the orientation of rectifying and combating unhealthy tendencies. We should have no misconceptions in this regard, and we must earnestly study our methods and steps. In view of the fact that unhealthy tendencies were quite rampant in a certain period, to rectify them we must pay attention to the following:

First, problems that occurred prior to the promulgation of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" can be leniently dealt with. With the exception of those that have incurred the greatest popular indignation, there should be no further investigations of them. But, problems that occurred after the promulgation of the "guiding principles" and after the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, particularly those problems occurring today, must be seriously and strictly dealt with.

Second, all unhealthy tendencies, no matter who is involved, must be verified. In view of previous lessons, we must not create a disturbance, nor should we regard such work as a movement or a gust of wind. How are we going to verify the facts? We must verify them through the organizations to which the persons in question belong and through their party committees. Facts must be clearly verified, and before they are clearly verified, we should not hasten to make a conclusion, lest good people be hurt. In verifying the information, we must listen to the opinions of the organizations to which the persons in question belong and also to their own opinions.

Third, we must pay attention to major points. Combating unhealthy tendencies is everybody's responsibility and the responsibility of departments at all levels. In combating unhealthy tendencies, each party member must increase his consciousness and steadfastness. Since we are communists, we must strengthen our party spirit, fear no hardship, and be determined and brave because there must be ways to do away with the unhealthy tendencies among us.

The majority of our party members were formerly small producers. This is to say that there is a social source of unhealthy tendencies within the party. There is no doubt that during the democratic revolutionary period the small producers in the rural areas and in cities had revolutionary characters and it would be a mistake to slight such a revolutionary character. But, these small producers have their shortcomings, such as selfishness, conservativeness, narrowmindedness, and so forth. That is why Comrades Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi repeatedly emphasized in their works the necessity to combat the small producers' ideology and said that Communist Party members must have the spirit, broadmindedness and foresight of the great proletariat. While struggling against unhealthy tendencies, the comrades on the propaganda and educational front must enlighten the broad masses of party members in a positive vein and arm them with ideological weapons. They must particularly realize that in our party's history there were numerous examples of those who heroically laid down their lives, and there are also such examples today and there will be in the future. We certainly have numerous model party members and model cadres. Our newspapers and journals must propagate these people more often so that people who have unhealthy tendencies will feel shame. We must use positive characteristics to influence, inspire and educate people and spur those who are backward.

Our method is principally commendation: But we will also rectify unhealthy tendencies through criticism. Therefore, we encourage party committees at all levels and each and every party member to work actively to heighten our party's fighting capability. Each and every cell must without exception work hard for a healthier party organ, for this is the responsibility of each and every party organization and party member.

CSO: 4004

## THE PARTY MUST LEAD THE MASSES OF PEOPLE TO BE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN HOUSE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 80 pp 9-12

[Article by Liu Junqi [0491 0193 1477] and Niu Xinfang [3362 2946 5364]]

[Text] To insure the success of the four modernizations, it is necessary to uphold and improve party leadership. The chief aim of improving party leadership is to strengthen the fighting force of our party, maintain the party's close ties with the masses and lead the masses of people to truly be the masters of their own house. The socialist cause is the cause of the people. Only when the masses of people truly realize their position as being masters of the country, bring into full play their initiative and creativity and courageously take up the historical mission laid upon their shoulders, will we be able to build our motherland into a modern and powerful socialist country. However, there are still some comrades who fail to fully understand, or adopt a hesitant attitude toward, the series of reforms we have carried out to improve party leadership, especially those concerning the party and state leadership systems centered around accelerating democratization. They fear that these reforms may weaken party leadership. Some others vigorously oppose them, propagate "you mind your business and I will mind mine," and still operate according to old established practices. This way of thinking and conduct has become a serious obstacle to further improving party leadership and must be resolved.

To speed up the process of democratization and truly lead the masses of people to be the masters of their own house, it is necessary to seriously review some basic principles of Marxism. Marxism has always insisted that history is propelled forward by the people. The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history. The laboring people must rely on their own strength to get rid of exploitation and oppression, to overthrow the old world and to build the new. Only when all the laboring people truly become emancipated, can the working class achieve thorough emancipation. These are the words written in "The Internationale": "There have never been any saviors, nor supermen. To strive for the happiness of mankind, we must rely on ourselves." Instead of taking the people as its tool, a political party which represents the interests of the whole people should conscientiously consider itself as being a tool of the people in a specific historical period for the fulfillment of specific historical tasks. Party cadres are public servants, not lords and masters sitting on the people's backs. A party has no special interests of its own and takes the people's interests as its highest interests. The party has become the vanguard capable of leading the masses because, and only because, it serves the people

heart and soul, helps the people to organize themselves, and fights for the demands and interests of the people. The higher the people's initiative, consciousness and creativity are raised, the more the cause of the people will develop. The main task of the party leadership is to point out correctly the way forward, mobilize the masses of people to overthrow the exploiting system and gain the position of the ruling class, and to exercise their rights to be the masters of their own house, manage affairs of state and create a happy life so as to fight for the construction of socialism and the realization of communism.

The cause of the Chinese revolution led by the CCP consists of leading the working class and the laboring people to emancipate themselves. No matter whether a revolution is democratic or socialist, its aim is to make the masses of people the masters of their own house, eliminate the private ownership system of man exploiting man, and establish a public ownership system, which means ownership by the whole people; to smash the old state machinery of man oppressing man and found the people's democratic dictatorship on the basis of the working class leadership of the worker-peasant alliance; to develop the productive forces and gradually meet the ever-increasing needs of the masses of people in their material and cultural lives. Leading the Chinese people in their protracted hard struggle, our party has realized that only by adhering to the mass line of having faith in the masses and relying on them, can we win victory for the revolution. In the period of the democratic revolution, under extremely difficult circumstances and against great odds, we maintained close ties with the masses of people, adopted all democratic measures to reinforce the democratic power of the revolutionary bases and liberated areas, and mobilized the initiative of the broad masses of the people and all revolutionary forces. Thus, we gained the full support and confidence of the people. Under the leadership of the party, the revolutionary forces developed from small to large, from weak to strong, and finally broke through all kinds of obstructions at home and abroad, overthrew the three great mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism that had laid on the backs of the Chinese people, and won great victory for the democratic revolution. After liberation, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong instructed us to be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and rashness, maintain and strengthen the close ties with the masses of the people, and expand the democratic rights of the people. Under the leadership of our party, we convened the CPPCC, established the system of people's congresses, drew up the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and other laws, affirmed the political status of the masses of people as masters of the country, and thus took the first step in forming a socialist democratic state system. As we represented the desires and requests of the people, we successfully completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. We are by no means exaggerating when we say that all the victories we have achieved have been achieved under the leadership of the party to enable the people to be the masters of their own house.

Unfortunately, after the socialist transformation in agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist enterprises and commerce, the trend of becoming divorced from the masses and the phenomena of overlooking or infringing upon the democratic rights of the masses have appeared, owing to the growth of pride and self-satisfaction within our party, the imperfections of our democratic system and

the remnant pernicious influence of feudalism. We have improperly emphasized "centralized party leadership" and "the first secretary takes command," as a result, all powers are centralized in party committees and a small minority of persons, and the roles played by state organs and other mass organizations are weakened. In reality, the rights of the masses of people to manage state affairs are reduced. Some comrades erroneously take the party leadership as sitting up high above the masses, giving orders, monopolizing everything and acting arbitrarily. Everything is decided by the party committee and, within the committee, by the first secretary. No matter whether big or small, all matters are grasped by them. Everything goes when their heads nod and stops when they shake their heads. Even with regard to the election system, which is of vital importance for the people's democracy, they do not really put it into practice but only make a gesture to the public. "The leaders decide on the list of candidates, the masses hang around on the periphery." Those candidates or deputies elected by the masses, if any, can be dismissed without authorization if they do not meet their standards, and the power organs thus emerged have no right to decide important matters and must obey orders. All this is actually a misunderstanding of the role of party leadership, exaggerating it to an improper extent and reversing the relations between masters and servants. Some other people, having only personal authority in mind, have not the least sense of responsibility to the masses. Instead of regarding the masses of the people as masters of the country, they place themselves in the position of masters of the masses. The greatest disadvantage of such conduct is the dampening of the enthusiasm and infringement on the interests of the masses, thus affecting the cause of socialism.

During the "Cultural Revolution," to meet their counterrevolutionary needs of usurping party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made use of our "left" mistakes and exercised fascist dictatorship by trampling on the legal system, sabotaging democracy and depriving the masses of their democratic rights. Under the slogan "the most revolutionary," they waged a movement of so-called "great democracy," which was in essence "manipulating the masses" for their counterrevolutionary purpose. They invented the fallacy of "mass movement is naturally reasonable," so as to expand anarchism to the utmost extent and do evil things without being restricted by law. In words they were against the idealist historical viewpoint of heroes making history, but in deeds they made themselves out to be new "saviors" and wantonly set off a movement for creating a deity. Under their abusive power, beating, smashing and looting appeared everywhere, jails of injustice were set up all over the country, the personal freedom and safety of the broad masses was not guaranteed and the democratic rights of the people were utterly abrogated. Wherever the pernicious influence reached, the party's glorious tradition was damaged, the relations between the party and the people were destroyed and the democratic system of the country was sabotaged. They have now been escorted to the judicial stage of history for the shameful end they deserve.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has done much to lead the people in running state affairs. By developing socialist democracy and establishing and strengthening our legal system, we have won the warm support of the masses and improved the relationship between the party and the masses. However, as a result of the previous mistakes in our work, especially the wounds

inflicted by the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the party's good tradition has not been fully restored, and the unhealthy tendencies of acting arbitrarily, commandism, bureaucratism and seeking private privileges are still prominent among some of our party members and cadres, which continuously affects the prestige of the party, undermines the relations between the party and the people, and adversely influences the masses of people from being the masters of their own house.

The party must unremittently lead the people to run state affairs. This is a question of principle concerning the success or failure of our cause. The main cause of either "left" or right mistakes within our party in the past has been divorcement from the masses. It is erroneous to think that the party's line, principles and policies naturally represent the interests of the people. If they are not formulated on the premise of the masses of people being masters of their own house, they do not actually represent the people, for the people cannot exercise their democratic rights in managing state affairs, and things will be done against the people's interests. Take the "Great Leap Forward" and the great steel-making movement in 1958. They were said to represent the people's interests, but in fact, they sabotaged them. Therefore, we must require our party organizations and cadres, at any time and under all circumstances, to side with the masses and not to oppose them, to be among them and not above them, to be public servants of the people and not their overlords, to express the will and demands of the people and not to go against them, to consult with the masses and not just order them to do this or that. In short, we must conscientiously inspire and guide the masses of people to be masters of their own house, let them decide their own destiny for themselves and bring into full play their initiative in the making of history. The "guiding principles for inner-party political life" has ruled that "leading cadres at all levels are public servants of the people. They only have the duties of serving the people diligently and conscientiously and have no right to seek privileges in their political and private lives." All party members must abide by these stipulations. Unless resolute measures are taken to get rid of the disadvantages in our leadership system, to actively lead the masses of people to be masters of their own house and realize their interests and demands step by step, our party will, in the long run, find itself standing in opposition to the masses and constitute an obstacle to the four modernizations, and all the successes we have achieved in our revolution will be irrevocably lost. This is a matter which merits the serious attention of the whole party and should not be treated lightly.

Some comrades are worried that by reforming the party and state leadership system and expanding the people's democratic rights, the party leadership will be weakened. They say: In capitalist countries, money is everything, but in socialist countries, power is everything. When the people's democratic rights are strengthened, power will be lost at the same time. Then what will the party lead? This is again a misunderstanding. The party leadership is actually the one based on the correct line, principles and policies, and to be realized through thoroughgoing and painstaking ideological and political work that unites the masses, based on the exemplary and leading roles played by the party members. It is the wrong leadership if the masses are required to obey leaders and follow their instructions, but the leaders are not dutybound to heed the voice of the masses and adopt correct ideas from them, and if the party organizations and

members refuse to accept criticism and supervision by the masses. It is necessary for the party leadership to lead the masses of people to be the masters of their own house and realize the democratization of the political life of the state, and also to mobilize the masses of people in the process of the four modernizations as well as in running state affairs. Socialist democracy is truly the people's democracy, which opposes both autocracy and anarchism. Unless it is led by the Chinese Communist Party, which represents the people's interests, the right of the people to run the country cannot be guaranteed. By exercising the people's democratic dictatorship based on the working class leadership of the worker-peasant alliance, the party is responsible for leading the masses of people to be masters of their own house, and making great efforts to achieve a political situation of stability and unity under which both democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, personal ease of mind and unified will are combined, so as to enable us to overcome all difficulties, stand up to all risks and carry on the construction of the four modernizations smoothly.

To truly resolve the question of the masses of people being masters of their own house, education is needed within the party on the study of historical materialism, which will enable the broad members and cadres of the party to learn that the masses of people are the creators of history and masters of the country, and correct the relations between the party and the masses and between individuals and the masses. On the other hand, through reforming the party and state leadership system, the inner-party democratic system and that of the people should be established and strengthened to insure that the masses of people fully exercise their rights to be masters of their own house.

Recently, the party Central Committee proposed taking feasible measures to reform and perfect our party and state leadership system, overcome the wrong trend of making no distinction between party and government administration and of over-centralizing power, and get rid of bureaucracy and all kinds of other privileges. The purpose is to take further steps to realize democratization in the political life of the party and state as well as in economic management and the entire social life. The people are masters of the country. This is the starting point of our current political reforms to strengthen and develop socialist democracy. There are many specific matters to be reformed, such as to change the practice of making no distinction between party and government administrations and the party taking the place of government, and we must set up a powerful working system of administration at all levels; we must establish and strengthen both the inner-party and the people's democratic system. To carry out these reforms, it is certainly necessary to make experiments first to acquire experience and then to solve problems one by one. At the same time, we must, by means of laws and regulations, consolidate the result of the reforms for strengthening democratization and insure the democratic rights of the masses of people to be masters of their own house. Since the founding of the republic, we have not yet conscientiously and systematically established regulations to insure the democratic rights of the people, and our legal system is also imperfect. So, we are unable to overcome all the evil deeds promptly and effectively that have appeared in this regard. Today, it is necessary and possible for us to strengthen the legal system, to draft and perfect other regulations, that is, to make laws and regulations concerning politics, economics and social order. In this way, the democratic life within the party and state can be developed in good circumstances, and the broad masses

and party members will be able to test and supervise their cadres in accordance with standards that are made clear, so as to prevent bureaucracy and anarchism. Normal order in our work, production and society will be guaranteed, which will benefit the rapid development of our cause. With the laws and regulations being made, the people will be able to act and judge accordingly. All citizens are equal before laws and regulations, and so are party members before the party constitution and party discipline. There is no doubt that our previous mistakes were connected with the style of thinking of some of the leaders, but the problem in our system, especially the imperfection of our democratic system, is of greater concern. We must take this opportunity to seriously solve the relevant problems and guarantee the people's democracy by laws and regulations. Only when the masses of people actually become masters of their own house and realize through practice that the party represents their interests, will they place more faith in the party's leadership and in socialism, and will our cause consequently flourish with boundless vitality.

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## RESOLUTELY RECTIFY UNHEALTHY PRACTICES INSIDE THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 80 pp 13-16

[Article by Yang Fengchun [2799 6646 2504] and Zhang Leike [1728 7191 0344]]

[Text] The question of party workstyle is an important one which has aroused the serious concern of the whole party and all of the Chinese people. Most cadres and masses inside and outside the party sincerely hope that we will adopt a positive attitude, take effective measures and do a good job in improving the party's workstyle.

Since the 3d Plenary Session [of the 11th CCP Central Committee], our party's workstyle has improved considerably. However, viewed in the light of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life," the requirement for the restoration of our party's fine traditions and the strong demand of the party members and the people, there is still much to improve and the question of unhealthy workstyle is still serious. Up to the present, the unhealthy practices have been expressed in the following ways: some people have feigned compliance to the party's principles and policies in public but opposed them in private; some have implemented them reluctantly; others have even refused to implement them. Some have used the power the party and people has given them for private interests, formed their own factions, assigned their own people to various posts and attached themselves to bigwigs so as to consolidate their so-called status. Some have ignored the party's principles, established illicit relations and secured advantages by giving banquets and gifts, practicing favoritism and accepting bribes, sought ease and comfort, and squandered properties of the state and the collectives, thus impairing the prestige of the party and the state. Some have ignored the people's democratic rights, rejected the criticism and supervision of the masses and even used their powers to retaliate. The theory that "where there is power, there is everything" trumpeted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still finds support today. Some people have advocated the personality cult and others have resorted to boasting and flattery. Some have practiced fraud in their work, deceived their superiors and deluded their subordinates, sought honor through deception and seized every chance to seek private gain. In economic construction, some have refused to gain professional proficiency. They have shown no respect for science, made subjective and arbitrary decisions, acted rashly, neglected their duties and have been extremely irresponsible in their work, thus causing great losses to the state and the people. All these unhealthy practices have been expressed in different forms in different localities and have caused, to varying degrees, serious losses and waste. These unhealthy practices have contaminated

the body of our party and weakened its fighting capability, so that it has not been able to give full play to its role as the core in leading all the people in conducting socialist construction. These unhealthy practices have also directly shaken the masses' faith in our party and in the four modernizations and have dampened their socialist enthusiasm. It is undeniable that these unhealthy practices have lowered the party's prestige and undermined the party-mass relationship, which has been cemented with blood. If this situation remains unchanged, our party may become a "giant with clay feet," and will be unable to lead the people in the four modernizations. This is an extremely important question. All party members must proceed from overall considerations concerning the survival of the party and the state, consider the question seriously and must by no means be negligent.

However, some of our comrades pay no attention to these unhealthy practices. It seems that they are used to them and can live comfortably with them. Moreover, they have tried to find all sorts of excuses for their indulgence in unhealthy practices.

Some comrades have said: So long as we have the correct line, why should we pay so much attention to workstyle? The party's historical experiences tell us that when there is a correct line there should also be good party members, because the party's line, principles and policies are implemented by the masses under the leadership of the party members and cadres. If our party members and cadres, particularly our party's leading cadres, indulge in unhealthy practices, are unable to set a good example and are unable to play an exemplary vanguard role, they will not be able to win the trust of the masses and few people will genuinely follow them. Therefore, the party's line, principles and policies are inseparable from the party's workstyle. During the period of democratic revolution, our party achieved victory not only because we had been under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee since 1935 and because we had a correct political line, but also because of the rectification campaign in 1942, which fostered the party's fine traditions of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and conducting criticism and self-criticism. Practice has proved that these fine traditions of the party have played an extremely important role in realizing the party's political line.

When the Communist Party became the ruling party from a state of being oppressed, slaughtered, encircled and suppressed, it underwent a fundamental change. However, its revolutionary task was not yet accomplished. Thinking that one can relax and seek enjoyment after seizing political power is not a revolutionary style of the proletariat, but a style of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. The proletariat must continue to advance after winning victory. Now, the proletariat must lead the broad masses of people in realizing the four modernizations through concerted efforts. In a certain sense, this task is more complicated and arduous than seizing political power. It demands that all party members maintain the style of plain living and hard struggle, and make unremitting efforts. If we stand above the masses, divorce ourselves from them, revel in praise and indulge in personal comfort, rather than share the joys and sorrows of the masses, suffer hardships before they do and enjoy comforts after they do, we may bring about a change in the party's nature and jeopardize the socialist cause. We must acknowledge that during the 10 years of calamity, Lin Biao and

the "gang of four" caused us great difficulties. Our current political line is correct. If we improve our party workstyle, we will be able to lead the masses, rely on their wisdom and strength and overcome all difficulties. Therefore, it is wrong to separate the party's line from its workstyle, to set economic work against the rectification of unhealthy tendencies and to refuse to recognize the significance of party workstyle in achieving the four modernizations. In the past, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company trumpeted: "As long as the line and orientation is correct, everything will be correct," and "The political line is a major issue and workstyle is a minor one." All these are lies. Our comrades must not be fooled.

Some comrades hold that stability and unity may be hindered if the party's discipline is too strictly enforced. This is setting the rectification of party workstyle against stability and unity. It is true that we need stability and unity in the four modernizations. The masses are no longer willing to see the recurrence of the bitter situation characterized by chaos, reversal of right and wrong, unceasing "civil war" and economic recession. However, where do stability and unity come from? In what ways can they be maintained? They cannot be maintained by goodwill, but only by the concerted efforts of the whole party. A very important way to reinforce stability is for party members to maintain close ties with the masses, go deep among them, listen to their demands, enthusiastically help them overcome their difficulties, conduct painstaking ideological work, unite them around the party and make concerted efforts with them to change the unhealthy tendencies in society. In this way, we can consolidate and develop the situation of stability and unity. If our party members and cadres are seriously divorced from the masses, how can our society be stable and united? At present, the masses are talking about and are dissatisfied with the unhealthy tendencies inside the party. Under these circumstances, should we conceal the question of unhealthy party workstyle or reveal and solve it? It is obvious that if we do not reveal and rectify these unhealthy tendencies, they will spread and run rampant. Then the relationship between the party and the masses will worsen and various social and political conflicts will be intensified. If we really want to achieve stability and unity in the course of the four modernizations, we should boldly, energetically and resolutely overcome the unhealthy tendencies and restore and develop the party's fine traditions. Only thus can we conform to the will of the party and the people and create a newer and better situation of stability and unity.

Other comrades hold that all of us are comrades. Even if some comrades do not have a very good workstyle, we should neither make a fuss about it nor criticize them too harshly. Of course, we should be enthusiastic rather than indifferent toward our comrades. We must adopt the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" toward cadres who have made mistakes. We should by no means bludgeon them and seize on their mistakes. As long as these comrades have a good understanding of their mistakes and rectify their unhealthy practices, everything will be all right. This does not mean that we can be tolerant and lenient toward comrades who have made mistakes. To be lenient and tolerant toward them means leaving evil unchecked and will spell ruin. For a long time, there has been a metaphysical tendency in treating people: When a comrade is good, he is absolutely good, perfect and irreproachable. Once a comrade makes mistakes, he is absolutely bad, devoid of

any merit and awful. This tendency of thinking in terms of absolutes has hurt our revolutionary comrades and endangered our party's cause. We have suffered enough from it and we must change it. We must seek truth from facts, adopt an overall and historical viewpoint toward our comrades, rather than take a one-sided view according to our personal likes and dislikes, or according to our comrades' words and actions at a certain period of time. It is wrong to ignore words because they are spoken by certain people or to dismiss some people from their posts because of certain words they have spoken. In order to reveal the problems, overcome the mistakes, develop our strong points and good results, we must correctly conduct criticism and self-criticism. This is an important aspect of the normalization of inner-party life. Only when our party members, particularly the party's leading cadres, are subject to the supervision of the masses and accept the criticisms from both inside and outside the party, can the party do away with its unhealthy tendencies and improve its fighting capability.

Some comrades who hold such erroneous ideas do not know the party's glorious traditions. Others have forgotten them. During the war years, many comrades braved untold dangers and fought courageously. What was in their minds at that time? They were thinking about overthrowing the dark reactionary rule and saving their suffering compatriots, thinking of the destiny of the motherland and the safety of the nation. They did not ask for anything else besides these. After the victory of the revolution, the status of some people has changed, and their ideology and feelings have also changed. They are more and more divorced from the masses. They cannot accept the masses' opinions and demands. Some of them even like to be flattered. They live in comfort and ease and have become overlords. The revolutionary fervor of some people has died down. They have forgotten the responsibility of a Communist Party member and have ignored the destiny of the party and the state. They only think about their houses, cars, children and their own cozy nests. On the question of rectifying unhealthy tendencies, how can these people be thinking in the same way as the people who long to achieve the four modernizations?

Let us make a further analysis. Why are some leading comrades so reluctant and irresolute in rectifying the unhealthy tendencies? This has deep social and ideological causes. Ideologically, they are affected by the feudal privilege-seeking mentality and bourgeois individualism. They always consciously or unconsciously think that leaders are superior to and different from the masses. They do not regard themselves as the people's attendants and as "public servants" of society. Instead, they regard themselves as "bosses" who rule others. Actually, leading cadres are different from the masses. However, such differences lie in their posts and duties. That is to say, leaders have heavier loads and take up more duties. This does not mean that leading cadres can be special party members or special citizens, indulge in unhealthy practices, seek privileges, expand the differences between the masses and leaders without any restraint, or refuse to be treated the same as others in the face of party discipline and state law. Nor does it mean that they cannot be criticized and cannot be held responsible when they have made mistakes. We are now in the socialist era. The vestiges of feudal ideology such as "officials are noble while common people are lowly" and "punishments are not applicable to ministers" should be completely eliminated. In fact, the broad masses of people are understanding. They do not require that "everything be equal" or advocate egalitarianism.

However, they hope that our party cadres, particularly the high-ranking ones, will give top priority to the party and the people's cause, genuinely share the joys and sorrows of the masses and wholeheartedly lead the masses in the four modernizations, instead of concentrating their efforts on seeking comfort in daily life and making arrangements for their children.

We must also point out that these unhealthy tendencies were first advocated by those who rose to power following Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the rebellion, who were severely affected by factionalism and who participated in beating, smashing and looting. They have adopted various methods to resist the party's line, principles and policies and disrupted the implementation of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life." They took the lead in stirring up unhealthy tendencies and supported and shielded those who adopted unhealthy practices. Some of them have been revealed, but many others have not. They are still in leading positions, using their power to fan the flames of disorder and even to attack those who are bold enough to struggle against unhealthy tendencies. Besides the above-mentioned people, there are also others who stir up unhealthy tendencies although they do it in forms which differ in nature and degree. Thus, to solve these problems, we must be enthusiastic and careful, do a great deal of work and make tremendous efforts.

In short, rectifying unhealthy practices is a very arduous and serious struggle, we not only must conduct education on party discipline and law, continue to implement the "guiding principles for inner-party political life," enhance the ideological consciousness of our party members and masses, and overcome the privilege-seeking mentality, but also must improve and strengthen the socialist legal system and socialist democracy, reform irrational regulations and systems, and plug loopholes that may give rise to and allow the existence of unhealthy tendencies. In this struggle, all party members must put "daring" above everything else, always bear in mind the interests of the party and the state, and must not be afraid of offending others, including their immediate seniors, old superiors, old colleagues, old subordinates, old schoolmates, fellow townsmen, relatives and sons and daughters. In rectifying unhealthy tendencies, they must genuinely play the role of a vanguard fighter of the proletariat.

When talking about rectifying party workstyle, some comrades have exaggerated the force of unhealthy tendencies. To them, it seems that everyone is indulging in unhealthy practices and unhealthy practices are found everywhere. They have painted a dark picture of our party and society and described our situation as without a single redeeming feature and as completely hopeless and depressing. They are unable to see the bright future of our cause and the favorable conditions for rectifying unhealthy tendencies. This is a one-sided view and is extremely harmful. Most of our party members and party cadres are good or at least comparatively good. They do not like the unhealthy tendencies. Particularly since the publication of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life," the whole party has a clear criterion to distinguish between right and wrong. It can also use the "principles" as a weapon to fight against various unhealthy tendencies. In real life and on various fronts, a large number of activists who are bold in combating unhealthy tendencies have emerged. They are neither afraid of threats nor afraid of retaliation. They are bold in exposing and criticizing. They even combat the unhealthy tendencies to the extent of

sacrificing their lives. They have been praised by the broad masses of people and have won the sympathy and support of society and have become good examples for people to learn from. We must also notice that it is the will of the party and people to achieve the four modernizations, and it is an irreversible historical trend to rectify unhealthy practices, restore the party's fine traditions, and improve and strengthen party leadership. Whoever goes against this historical trend will be punished by the mercilessness of history and whoever follows this historical trend will receive enthusiastic support and favorable response from the people.

Party workstyle is a question that concerns the life and death of the party in power. We must accomplish this task with the greatest resolution and willpower. We firmly believe that we are able to win victory in the struggle against unhealthy tendencies under the leadership of the Central Committee and with the support of all the Chinese people. We must pluck up our courage and build up our confidence. We were able to remove the "three big mountains" which had lain like a dead weight on the backs of the Chinese people. Will we not be able to eliminate these unhealthy tendencies? Despite the obstacles and difficulties on the way of advance, "the green mountains are never able to stop the rivers from flowing toward the east." This trend will surge forward toward the glorious goal of the Chinese people's ideals.

CSO: 4004

## THE THEORY OF VIEWING THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM AS A WHOLE

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[Article by Xue Baoding (5641 5508 7844)]

[Text] A Comprehensive View Is Essential for the Study of the Modernization Program

The concept of modernization changes as one period proceeds to another. The content of modernization also changes with the periods in history. Modernization can be seen in the contrast between capitalism and feudalism, between mechanized production and manual production and between steampower and animal or manpower. The world economy is developing and the level of technology is constantly rising. Therefore, the modernization program in the 1980's should demand more than that in the 1960's and the 1970's. Although a certain form of modernization had remained constant within a certain period, today it is changing faster and faster.

To some comrades, modernization is synonymous with industrialization. Actually the two are different. Industrialization is related, but not equal to modernization. In Stalin's time, industrialization was discussed in the Soviet Union, but modernization was not. During the Soviet Union's First Five-Year Plan, industrialization was set up as a strategic target and as the party's line. To the Russians, when the industrial output reached 70 percent of the total of agricultural and industrial output, industrialization was attained. This policy influenced us a lot. In 1953, the party put forth "gradually attain socialist industrialization within the country" as a task in the general line of the transitional period. In 1956, the party arrived at eight decisions, one of which was to take industrialization as a target of struggle by proceeding from an agrarian society to an industrial one. In 1958, it raised the issue of industrialization for every province in the country. Later, this slogan was put forth: Industrialization for the rural people's communes. Practice has proved that industrialization is not necessarily modernization. The ratio of our value of industrial output to that of agricultural output was 30:70 in the early 1950's and 75:25 in 1978. Yet this does not mean we are industrialized, least of all that we are modernized. In other words, we should not simplify the question by simply accepting the percentage of industrial output and divorce it from the level of productive forces within the whole society.

Can we then use the GNP, value of output per capita or output of the main products as yardsticks for modernization? It is possible to use one or several of these as

yardsticks to explain some points, but it will be much too simplified to use them to judge the complicated social economy. For example, in 1976, the average value of output per capita was U.S. \$15,480 for Kuwait, U.S. \$13,990 for the United Arab Emirates, U.S. \$11,400 for Qatar, U.S. \$8,800 for Switzerland, U.S. \$7,890 for the United States and U.S. \$7,380 for West Germany. Obviously, the figures do not mean that the oil-exporting Middle East countries are more modernized than Switzerland, the United States or West Germany.

Since 1958, we had been practicing the policy of taking "steel as the key link in industry" by using steel output as a standard of modernization. We had been keen on the rate of growth in steel output and raised the slogan "surpass England and the United States." The 1978 steel output was 151 million tons in the Soviet Union, 123.89 million tons in the United States, 102.1 million tons in Japan, 41.26 million tons in West Germany, 22.82 million tons in France, 20.32 million tons in England and 31.78 tons in China. Yet we cannot say that England and France lag behind us in terms of their levels of modernization.

This shows that although a single index may in some ways reveal the level of modernization, it is insufficient in analyzing the modernization program in a comprehensive manner. To consider the modernization program as a whole, we must take into account the entire social economy and the people's material and cultural levels.

Some comrades believe that modernization refers to the productive forces, that the technology of production should reach the advanced world level. Other comrades believe that modernization refers to production and circulation, for the two are inseparable. If circulation is not modernized, production will also be affected. The modernization of circulation means the application of modern scientific technology to all equipment in the circulation process, so that mechanization and automation will reduce the time and cost needed for circulation, the development of production will be promoted and consumer demand will be satisfied. In my opinion, both views are justifiable. The latter view is particularly significant for changing the situation in which circulation has been neglected for years. Yet this view is still insufficient in treating the modernization program as a whole. Modernization not only refers to the productive forces, but also to production relations and the superstructure.

Of course, in our modernization program we must earnestly try to solve the problem of the modernization of the productive forces, but this is ultimately related to production relations and the superstructure. If we do not study and solve the problem of modernization in the light of the conflict between the productive forces and production relations and between the economic foundation and the superstructure, but just study and solve the problem of productive forces in the light of productive forces only, it will be difficult to succeed in our modernization program. For example, if the superstructure and the productive forces are not joined together in studying and correctly solving the question of production relations so that production relations will suit the level of the development of productive forces, the productive forces cannot develop fast and modernization will not be accomplished.

If we do not adhere to "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth," but still fetter our minds with outdated or wrong rules and regulations, or continue to be restricted by dogmatism, it will be difficult for us to scientifically carry out reforms in economic management and overcome half-planned or unplanned conditions. Similarly, if we are not clearly aware of the fact that our socialist society has just emerged from a semicolonial and semifeudalistic society, or of the far-reaching influence of several thousand years of feudalism and of the encroachment of the capitalist class ideology, and if we do not distinguish theoretically between feudalism, capitalism and scientific socialism, it will also be difficult for us to accomplish modernization. Without a modernized and scientific organization, system and methodology for economic management and without related laws and regulations, the modernization of the national economy will be out of the question. Many comrades adore computers. Actually, if management lags behind, the computers and bureaucracy together will only cause a disaster.

In his speech delivered on the 30th National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "By the four modernizations, we mean the four major aspects of accomplishing the modernization program, not that the modernization program is restricted to these four aspects. While reforming and improving the socialist economic system, we must do the same to the socialist political system and develop a high level of socialist democracy and a perfect socialist legal system. While building up a high level of material civilization, we must also raise the levels of education, science, culture and health for all of the people, evolve a lofty revolutionary ideal and revolutionary morale, develop a noble and diversified cultural life and build up a high level of socialist spiritual civilization." These words emphasize the relation between modernization and the economic foundation of the superstructure. They also remind us that in viewing and accomplishing the modernization program, we must not divorce production relations from the reform and perfection of the superstructure. This is what we advocate: We must view the modernization program as a whole. Thus, in viewing the modernization program as a whole, we must set up long-term planning and guidance, carry out in-depth studies on such aspects as science, technology, engineering, economics, politics, law, management, education and culture and distinguish their interrelations. We must not metaphysically cut off the productive forces from the production relations or the economic foundation from the superstructure, nor should we unjustifiably simplify complicated matters. We must treat the social economy of the whole country as a "huge system" which is a macrostructure with different levels, quality, quantity, time and perspective. Meanwhile, we should select essential and representative socialist economic organizations and analyze them as microstructures. We should also repeatedly study them from the microscopic to the macroscopic approaches and vice versa so as to improve our economic undertakings and prevent any fragmentary and simplified approach.

#### Understand the Achievement and Problems of Our Economic Development by Taking a Comprehensive View of the Modernization Program

Generally speaking, over the past 30 years, the achievements in our economic construction have been enormous, but the problems have also been notable.

Proof of this can be seen in the faster growth in industry and agricultural production, a higher level of technology in industrial production and a greater change in the distribution of industry. Basically, an independent and relatively complete industrial complex has been built up.

On the other hand, problems are not rare. The most serious one is the violation of the objective natural law, the law of the development of technology and the economic law. To lead production and construction with "determinism" resulted in a lot of stupid actions and tremendous losses and waste. For many years, we have ignored the actual conditions and just pursued big targets and high speed and concentrated our attention on only one thing: the key link. In industry, we took "steel as the key link"; in agriculture, we took "grain as the key link." The neglect of overall development has upset the proper ratio and general balance in the national economy. Under the ideological guidance of "a speedy victory," we tried to raise accumulation, blindly expanded the scope of capital construction and for a long time consumed more funds, materials and manpower than the country could afford. The results were distressing. First, construction lasted a long time, the investment was not rewarding, and a lot of our country's already limited funds and materials had to lie idle. Second, with so much capital and material allocated to construction, there were cutbacks in funds for other purposes, namely, renovating enterprises, reforming old factories and purchasing new equipment. Even simple reproduction could not proceed smoothly. Third, the people's livelihood was adversely affected. All these were caused by the long-term leftist line in economic construction.

At present, readjustment is being carried out in the national economy in order to reverse the situation of imbalance. It is hoped that development will go on at a steady, continuous and realistic speed on the basis of economic balance. Proof of this can be seen in a year's readjustment, but this is not enough. Problems still exist. In particular, the capital construction front is too large, its scope is too wide and the problem of blind construction has yet to be solved. The main reason is that, in their pursuit of rapid development, people still ignore the actual conditions. This situation has yet to be reversed. Therefore, further eradication of the leftist influence in economic construction is still the prerequisite for good organization in the modernization program. We must start from the imbalance in our national economy and seriously grasp the work of readjustment. Only when the balance and structure have been readjusted can we proceed. In planning the work for some years to come, we should emphasize the importance of readjustment. In the first few years, we should lay the foundation, but the speed must not be too fast. In the several years that follow, we should steadily proceed upon the foundation of readjustment. In short, we should seek truth from facts and work according to our capabilities.

In economic construction, "determinism" has dominated for a long time and the leftist line has prevailed. This is largely due to the remnant influence of feudalism and an impaired democratic system.

To carry out the modernization program and eliminate the remnants of feudalism is a very important task. Engels quoted time and again Marx' words about Germany and Italy, which were "harmed by the development of capitalist production and by the lack of development of capitalist production" in those years. ("Selected Works

of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 206-207) Marx pointed out that "apart from contemporary disasters, we are also suppressed by disasters of the past. These disasters were produced because old ways of production and the outdated social and political relations that accompanied them are still struggling to survive." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 288) These words remind us of the danger of the remnants of feudalism. Thirty years of experience tell us that the historical task of science and democracy advocated in the 4 May movement is still waiting to be completed, the pernicious influence of several thousand years of feudalism and over 100 years of semicolonialism and semifeudalism are waiting to be eliminated.

Dictatorial ideology and the small production style of management are barriers to the socialist modernization program. We have done a lot of stupid things. In many cases, they were caused by a lack of serious study, disrespect for science, and ignoring of the opinions of experienced experts and the masses. Decisions were made by signing and approving slips of paper. This blind way of making decisions and neglecting economic and technological democracy caused enormous losses and waste in production. However, we still did not learn from this experience, but kept saying that this was the price we had to pay for our lack of experience. If we go on paying such a price, when will modernization be accomplished? This shows that we must overthrow feudalism and bureaucracy and gradually perfect the socialist democratic system.

Socialism should create a democratic system which is more down-to-earth than the capitalist democratic system. Thus it will exemplify the superiority of the socialist system and guarantee that all the people of our country will enjoy the right to run the country through various effective forms, such as through grassroots-level regional administration, enterprises and undertakings. A sound legal system is needed to protect the people's democratic rights. Only with democratic rights can the people be masters of the country, effectively supervise the leaders and actively participate in the socialist modernization program. Therefore, we must earnestly advocate political democracy, economic democracy and technological democracy, include them in the socialist legal system and practice rule by law. Only then can we gather the wisdom of the masses and bring their initiative into play. Only then can we make fewer mistakes in our modernization program.

#### Formulate Policies From a Comprehensive View of the Modernization Program

In order to readjust the national economy and lay a firm foundation for the modernization program, we must take a comprehensive view of modernization in order to formulate a series of policies.

Policy on light industries. We must start with the final products needed for the people's livelihood, study the proportion between the final products and the intermediate products and the proportion between the production of these products and the necessary raw materials, transportation and energy. The socialist accumulation of funds mainly relies on the domestic market. Accumulation and consumption together should not exceed the total GNP. During the period of readjustment, the rate of accumulation should be regulated to around 25 percent. In planning, we should carefully calculate the economic effects. The speed should be based on

the socialist commodity production which has a use value and good economic effects, not on an unrealistic "high speed" which does nothing to develop production or to improve the people's livelihood.

Policy on energy. This is an imperative task, which should be based on inspection, reliable geological surveys, the possibilities of developing technology and the need to develop the economy to formulate the best possible, far-reaching, comprehensive and practicable policy on energy. We need a comprehensive plan concerning the different sources of power, such as water, coal, oil, natural gas, thermal energy, nuclear energy, wind, solar energy, marsh gas and even straw used for cooking purposes in the countryside.

We should sensibly and widely tackle the coal reserves. In the past, in order to avoid transporting coal from the north to the south, we had a war of attrition for a few years in areas lacking coal resources. We should learn from this lesson. Now, the main areas of recoverable coal reserves are in Shanxi, Nei Monggol, Guizhou, Huaibei, Huainan and Kailuan. The transportation of coal is determined by geographical conditions. Therefore, we must also improve transportation in the regions concerned.

Since 800 million of the total population live in the countryside, we should grasp the study of the possibility of making wide use of marsh gas and solar energy. Compost is made from straw and manure. Together with marsh gas, it will kill parasites and purify the environment without upsetting the ecological balance. It is quite common abroad to make use of solar energy to operate water heaters and solar energy stoves. We can modify this technique by simplifying the structure and lowering the costs according to our conditions and use solar energy as a supplementary source of power.

In industrial production, our tangible energy consumption is too high. Our total energy consumption is more or less the same as that of Japan, yet our output value is much lower than that of Japan. In the iron and steel industry, an average of 0.681 tons of standard coal was needed to produce 1 ton of steel in Japan in 1978, whereas 2.28 tons of standard coal was needed to produce 1 ton of steel in China in 1979. According to fixed requirements, about 1.5 tons of standard coal is needed to produce 1 ton of steel in our country, which is double that of advanced foreign countries. In 1978, a total of over 7 million tons of standard coal was consumed in our iron and steel industry. Had we been able to save 3 to 5 percent of it, we would have saved several million tons of standard coal.

There is also an incalculable amount of consumption in industrial production, which is caused by the production of useless products. For example, at present, of the whole country's nitrogenous fertilizer output, 55 percent is synthetic ammonia. One type is ammonium bicarbonate, which is 17 percent nitrogen and easily decomposes. Decomposition and losses occur in production, packaging, storage, transportation and usage. The decomposed ammonium bicarbonate is of no use. A similar phenomenon is seen in other products. This problem should be solved as soon as possible.

Policy on resources. Our country is said to be big and abounding in natural wealth. Actually, the distribution of resources is quite uneven. As we gradually

gain more knowledge about the actual situation of our resources, we should choose an economically reasonable scope for mineral mining. To carry out compensation trade with mineral exports, the scope of mining should be reasonable. It should not be so large as to exhaust our reserves. We should protect our rare resources and set up the necessary production and export quotas so that these resources will not be exhausted too fast. In 1977, the rate of plant cover for our forests was only 12.7 percent and the distribution was quite uneven. For many years, the scope of capital construction has been too wide and there have been too many gaps in timber supply, so that too many trees have been cut down from the areas on Changbai Shan and along the upper reaches of the Chang Jiang. As the proportion between cutting and planting has been upset, abnormal climatic conditions and water and soil losses occur in these areas. Therefore, we should start a nationwide program of afforestation. We should set up an effective economic policy, administrative policy and laws to insure cutting and planting instead of just cutting in the existing forest zones and strictly prohibit any damage to the forests.

**Policy on technology.** In socialist construction, are bigger enterprises and advanced technology necessarily better? In formulating a policy, we should start from the actual situation and soberly and correctly handle the question.

In social production, large and medium-sized enterprises constitute only the minority. The policy on technology should vary according to the sizes of the enterprises. Generally speaking, large or medium-sized enterprises should be built for such industries as machinery manufacturing, the production of chemical goods for daily use and light industries in which the kinds of products are varied, the output of each kind may be small and the variations are many. In small enterprises, we can adopt the technological policy of combining manual and partially mechanized production with totally mechanized production. Of course, we must not generalize. Where advanced technology is needed, we should introduce it. For example, in the engineering industry, which cooperates with large enterprises to manufacture complete sets of equipment, in the production of parts for the electronics industry or in the production of chemicals in the chemical industry, the technology should be as advanced as in the large enterprises. Only then can we guarantee advanced and quality final products. The engineering industry supplies technological equipment for different sectors of the national economy. The technology introduced into different departments, areas and enterprises should be applicable to the country's engineering industry. If we do not design, improve and modernize our engineering industry, the modernization program will not have a firm technological foundation.

**Policy on the distribution of productive forces.** The development of productive forces in the provinces and cities should start from the characteristics of each area. Consideration should be given to the resources, the technological foundation, the level of economic development, and, most important of all, the national economy as a whole. Every aspect should be studied, the superiority of the regions properly brought into play and shortcomings avoided. A province should not pursue a complete, independent industrial system. Economic regions should cooperate with each other in order to obtain the best reciprocal results. The "self-sufficient industrial system" is actually an expansion of self-sufficient small-scale production, "concession" in disguise and a reflection of egalitarianism. This is the source of the evils of blind construction, of the encroachment

of small factories upon big factories and backwardness' blockade of progress. We must admit that the economic foundations for the provinces and cities are uneven, allow them to develop at different rates, bring their scientific superiority into play under state planning and reach a balance through efforts and cooperation.

Big cities like Shanghai, Tianjin, Wuhan, Chongqing and Guangzhou are important economic centers that are influential in the development of the national economy. We should support their development in every aspect. However, it is not wise to develop large but impractical city economies.

Policy on qualified personnel. A few aspects deserve special attention here. First, importing complete sets of equipment is not as good as importing key equipment; importing key equipment is not as good as introducing key technology; introducing key technology is not as good as recruiting and training experts and putting them into service. Second, do not neglect the role played by our own experts. Some units totally ignore the intellectuals, while other units make unwise use of them. In both cases they do not understand how the scientific personnel pursue scientific truths and contribute as much of their knowledge as possible to the modernization program. The policy on intellectuals should be implemented across the board. Beware having rigid and conservative minds hinder the implementation of this policy. Third, carry out realistic measures to raise the scientific and cultural levels of all our nationalities. While selecting the best candidates to enter post-secondary institutes, we should simultaneously run more kinds of courses, more vocational schools, continuing-education schools, television education programs and vocational training courses. The structure of secondary education should be completely reformed. The "double track system" should be adopted. While running primary schools, we should also run a lot of secondary vocational schools. Labor skills training courses should also be included in primary schools. We should also consider providing opportunities for cadres at their posts to receive training from time to time. Capitalist countries make "investments in knowledge" and promote those who contribute a great deal. We socialist countries should train cadres more systematically; the scope should be wider and the quality should be greater. We should select 10 or 20 percent of the staff from the present enterprises to receive training in technology and management. Those who perform well should be promoted and given higher wages. This will be good for the modernization of enterprises and for the country.

In addition, we have to formulate policies on population, wages, pricing, taxation, interest and on import and export. In conclusion, the policies should be formulated according to a comprehensive view of the modernization program. Sound laws, regulations and systems should be gradually introduced so that production relations will adapt to the development of the productive forces, and the superstructure will adapt to the economic foundation. In other words, we should start from our actual social and economic situation which has been formed over the past 30 years and accomplish our modernization program better.

## A FEW QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE SYSTEM OF OWNERSHIP BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE

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[Article by Hun Xilang [1926 1585 5328]]

[Text]

I

The economy of ownership by the whole people in our country was set up by the people of the whole country under the leadership of the CCP, under conditions of rather backward productive forces, by overthrowing the old social system and confiscating bureaucrat capital. It required very great courage to set up the world's most advanced economic system on a basis like this. Nevertheless, it was not set up merely with revolutionary enthusiasm. It was built on a solid scientific foundation with the dauntless spirit of the Chinese communists and the strong determination of the Chinese people to take the socialist road, and it was in line with the objective law of social development.

Even in semifeudal, semicolonial old China, capitalist modern industry had developed to a certain extent. Although its share in the economy was not high, it controlled the most advanced productive forces in our country and production was extremely concentrated, especially the bureaucrat capitalism, which amassed \$10 to \$20 billion in capital and controlled the economic lifelines of the country. The struggles of the Chinese people against bureaucrat capitalism not only possessed antifeudal and anticorrupt characteristics but also possessed the nature of opposing the monopoly capitalist class. Therefore, the intensification of these contradictions implied the intensification of the basic contradictions inherent in capitalism and implied the intensification of the contradiction between socialized large-scale production and private capitalism. The solution to these contradictions was, unavoidably, the setting up of the socialist economy of ownership by the whole people. It was the result of the function of the law that production relations must suit the nature of productive forces.

After confiscating the bureaucrat capital, we accomplished the transformation of private capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises with steady steps. Throughout the process of transforming the capitalist ownership economy into the socialist economy of ownership by the whole people, the productive forces of our country were not sabotaged but instead increased rapidly. This reflected the vitality of the economy of ownership by the whole people and also proved the correctness of our country's policies.

The setting up of the economy of ownership by the whole people in our country once again proved the correctness of Lenin's theory that socialism could win victory first in countries where capitalism was not too developed. It also proved that Lenin's repudiation of the idea that "Russia's productive forces had not yet developed to the level needed for the realization of socialism" was correct. The setting up of the economy of ownership by the whole people required a certain degree of capitalism and the respective productive forces, but it did not mean that highly developed productive forces were an indispensable prerequisite. The fact that we were able to set up an economy of ownership by the whole people in circumstances where our productive forces were more backward than those in Russia was a manifestation of the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of China.

The setting up of the economy of ownership by the whole people fundamentally changed the stagnant state of old China's productive forces. In the past 30 years, the economy of ownership by the whole people has greatly developed. Despite the serious disruption and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and various mistakes in practice, the speed of development of the national economy has still been higher than that in many contemporary capitalist countries. Thousands of large-scale industrial enterprises have been set up. Fixed assets of the economy of ownership by the whole people have increased by 20 fold. The people of the whole country already possess enormous wealth, amounting to several hundred billion yuan. These achievements show the superiority of the economy of ownership by the whole people. The setting up of this type of economy in China suits the nature of the productive forces and has opened up a broad field for further developing the productive forces.

Marx and Engels once assumed that socialism would achieve victory simultaneously in some developed capitalist countries. But this is no ground for believing that China did not possess the productive forces necessary for setting up ownership by the whole people. First, Lenin and Stalin proved long ago that in countries where capitalism was not greatly developed, the proletariat could not only seize state power but could also set up a socialist economy. What Stalin said in repudiating Zinoviev was true: Why did we seize state power at the beginning if we did not believe that the proletariat could set up a socialist economy and if we did not believe that socialism could be realized in one country? Second, the level of the productive forces in developed capitalist countries on which Marx and Engels based their assumptions was not unattainable either. In the last decades of the 19th century, the most developed capitalist countries were Britain, the United States, Germany and France. The total output of coal, cast iron and steel of these four countries added together was respectively less than 200 million tons, 10 million tons and 500,000 tons in 1870. Up to 1880, Britain, the so-called factory of the world, produced less than 150 million tons of coal, less than 8 million tons of cast iron and 1.3 million tons of steel, while France produced only 20 million tons of coal, 1.7 million tons of cast iron and 400,000 tons of steel. The level of the productive forces of our country at present is of course rather low but it is not without a foundation. It can never be considered that conditions for ownership by the whole people are still lacking.

It is true that the level of the productive forces of our country at the present stage is still a far cry from the level at which all the means of production can

be publicly owned by the whole society, and the great majority of laborers are still in the economy of collective ownership. The state of ownership must be appropriate to the basic characteristic of China, viz, that it is a big country and at the same time a poor country. Collective ownership should not only be further strengthened and developed in agriculture but also in industry. Individual ownership is still a necessary supplement to the socialist economy. The history of the past 30 years shows that if we ignore the level of our country's productive forces and are overanxious for the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, and overanxious to abolish individual ownership, we will sabotage the productive forces of society and impede the development of the economy. The question at present is neither to realize the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people nor to abolish ownership by the whole people, but rather to adjust relations between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, to further strengthen and perfect ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, and to develop socialism on the basis of giving full play to the superiority of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. The source of drawbacks in the current economic system is not in ownership by the whole people itself but in not fully understanding the law of development of the economy of ownership by the whole people and in not acting according to the law of development of the economy of ownership by the whole people.

## II

Ownership by the whole people is a more mature socialist public ownership. In the economy of ownership by the whole people, the means of production are commonly owned by laborers of the whole society. In owning the means of production, laborers of the whole society are equal. Leaders, staff members and workers, peasants and other laborers are all equal and common owners of the means of production.

The question of who owns the means of production is the core of the relations of ownership. The concept of ownership usually refers to the following relation: material goods belong to certain owners and are controlled and utilized by them to obtain certain interests. Possession, control, utilization, etc., can sometimes be separated. Therefore, the concept of ownership can also refer only to who owns the material goods. Material goods include the means of production and the means of consumption. The possession of the means of production by people plays a particularly important role in the course of social production. It decides various relations of men in the course of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. Any kind of relations of ownership of the means of production are accompanied by the corresponding kind of production relations.

The question of who owns the means of production is the most important production relation. It is the foundation of production relations. Therefore, the concept of ownership also often refers to the question of who owns the means of production.

Possession of the means of production by laborers of the whole society is the starting point of our country's socialist production. It is also the starting point of the socialist economic transformation of our country. It plays an

important role in the development of the socialist economy. This has been and will continue to be proved by history. Possession of the means of production by laborers of the whole society is not a "mere legal fantasy of will." Only those people who advocate the change of ownership at will in advance of the existence of the necessary productive forces—as did Lin Biao and the "gang of four"—regard objective ownership relations as a "mere legal fantasy of will." Marxism has recognized all along that the question of who owns the means of production is an objective production relation. Marxism has also recognized that it is a reflection of will and has tried to properly handle the relation between them.

When we say that the question of who owns the means of production is an objective production relation, we do not rule out its connection with other production relations. When people own the means of production, they mean to utilize them in the production process so as to obtain certain interests. Thus, the function of ownership of the means of production is manifested in different production processes. In order to reflect fully the entire function of ownership of the means of production in the course of social production, the concept of ownership also implies a very broad meaning, viz, all production relations resulting from ownership of the means of production by the people.

Ownership can be fully manifested only in different courses of production. This does not deny the independent nature of the question of who owns the means of production. On the contrary, it is proof of its independent existence. Only on the objective basis of ownership of the means of production can different objective production processes come into being. Without different production processes, ownership naturally loses its significance. However, without ownership, different production processes would not come into being.

That a concept has several meanings is quite common. We should not contradict different meanings in an oversimplified way. In the middle of the 19th century, Marx said that ownership was the sum total of production relations to meet the needs at that time. The proletarian political economy was newly established at that time, and in order to criticize metaphysics and idealism in economics, it was necessary to observe and study ownership in the process of the movement of production relations so as to fully expose the historical nature of capital ownership. Another reason why Stalin pointed out that ownership was the basis of production relations was to meet the needs of the situation at that time. After capitalism developed into the stage of imperialism, the socialist revolution was considered to be the order of the day and the task of expropriating the expropriators was prominent. After the proletariat seized state power, the establishment and development of socialist ownership was of primary importance. Therefore, all the concepts of Marx and Stalin concerning ownership are scientific generalizations of objective reality and have profound significance. The economy of ownership by the whole people in our country has been in existence for 30 years. The new problem before us at present is how to further perfect ownership by the whole people so as to meet the needs of development of the productive forces. Therefore, a thorough study of the nature of ownership by the whole people and the relationship between ownership by the whole people and different production relations is a question whose importance should not be underestimated.

### III

In the economy of ownership by the whole people, possession and control are integrated. Laborers of the whole society jointly control (manage and utilize) all the means of production in the economy of ownership by the whole people as common owners of the means of production. But, in the present stage, the unified control by laborers of the whole society of the means of production, of ownership by the whole people, is limited in a certain way. Members of the collective economy chiefly labor in the collective economy and personally control and utilize only the means of production of collectives. They cannot freely take part in the production processes of the economy of ownership by the whole people. Likewise, participants in the economy of ownership by the whole people are limited by the social distribution of work. They usually remain in a certain profession or trade. This objectively prevents the broad masses of direct producers from personally managing the economy of ownership by the whole people. Viewed from this angle, the power of unified control by laborers of the whole society of the economy of ownership by the whole people is not yet mature.

The control by laborers of the whole society of the economy of ownership by the whole people does not mean that everyone directly manages the entire economy of ownership by the whole people. It is impossible for several hundred million people to manage directly the economy of the whole country. Laborers of the whole society can only exercise unified control of the enormous economy of ownership by the whole people with tens of thousands of units through their representatives. First, they must exercise unified control through an economic center. In the present stage, this economic center is the socialist state. The socialist state is the representative of the socialist society. It reflects in a centralized way the will of all laborers, and organizes the economy of ownership of the whole people in accordance with the interests of the laboring people of the whole country. What the socialist state manages directly is important economic activities concerning the entire economy of ownership of the whole people, such as unified plans for the national economy, taxation and profits to be turned over to financial organs, the production, distribution, circulation and prices of important products, various kinds of economic policies, etc. It is impossible for any enterprise, department or local authority to handle these activities. Only the socialist state has enough authority to handle them in accordance with the interests of laborers of the whole society. Direct management by the state of economic activities of overall importance is the superiority of the socialist economic system. It insures that the economy will develop in a planned and well-proportioned way and that it will progress at a high speed.

However, for a long time, there has been a one-sided understanding of the power of unified control. It has been thought that such a power can be exercised only through the state and that the more the state manages the better, and that the less the enterprises and local authorities exercise the right to make their own decisions the better. This kind of understanding is not in conformity with reality. The economy of ownership by the whole people is made up of tens of thousands of enterprises, and many economic activities are carried out by enterprises. Generally speaking, it is better for enterprises to handle their own affairs. It is against the nature of socialized large-scale production for a central organ to manage directly all activities of tens of thousands of units.

Overcentralization cannot really realize the power of unified control by all laborers; instead, it sabotages this power of control. Do you wish to give more play to the function of centralized leadership in the national economy? Then you have to give enterprises more independence and the right to make their own decisions. A thing is more profitable when handled by enterprises than when handled by the state. It should be handled by enterprises. We are now increasing the right of enterprises to make their own decisions. It is necessary to extend appropriately the administrative limits of the authority of enterprises to utilize funds, arrange production, handle management and sales, allocate labor, etc. This is an inescapable trend.

Increasing the enterprises' right to make their own decisions does not change the nature of ownership by the whole people of enterprises, nor does it cancel the form of ownership by the state. To give enterprises the right of administration is to give them the right of controlling a portion of the means of production. But this right of control is relative. The right of possession is not completely separated from the right of control. The right of unified control of the means of production is still in the hands of all laborers. The complete separation of the right of possession from the right of control exists only among the possessors. One of them allows the other to control the means of production. In this way, the possessor of the means of production becomes a pure possessor, while the one who operates the means of production becomes a complete controller of the means of production. This is the relation between money capitalists and functional capitalists, between landowners and agricultural capitalists, and between landlords and peasants. The means of production of enterprises owned by the whole people do not belong to enterprises, nor do they belong to laborers of enterprises, because the latter cannot control the means of production according to their own will and interests. The means of production are given to enterprises so that enterprises can control them in accordance with the will and interests of the laboring people of the whole country. Therefore, the administration and utilization of the means of production by enterprises is the same as the administration by the state of the means of production owned by the whole people. It also represents laborers of the whole country. It represents them in exercising the right of unified control of the means of production. Laborers of the whole country have not transferred to enterprises the right of unified control of the economy of ownership by the whole people, nor has the state been separated from enterprises, but two different forms have been adopted: either the state or the enterprises, departments and local authorities exercise this right.

That enterprises have to control the means of production according to the interests of laborers of the whole country is also a superior aspect of the socialist economy. It not only implies that the relations of each trying to cheat the other and of benefiting oneself at the expense of others no longer exist. It also implies that selfish departmentalism, in which one only cares about the interests of the enterprise, is also not permitted. People often say that consideration should be given both to the interests of the state and to those of enterprises. This means that, under the premise that the means of production are controlled in accordance with the interests of the people of the whole country, consideration should be given to the interests of enterprises. In exercising the right of administration given to them, enterprises must follow the principle

that they should do whatever is in the interests of all the people and should not do anything which is not in the interests of all the people. This kind of decisionmaking power accorded to enterprises for handling affairs in accordance with the interests of laborers of the whole country is the relative power of enterprises to make their own decisions.

Since the means of production of the economy of ownership by the whole people are managed either by the state or by the enterprises, and affairs are handled in accordance with the interests of all laborers, the principle for determining the limits of power of administration is very simple, even if the concrete determination of the limits of power is very complicated. Everything depends on how to achieve the greatest economic results for the whole society. If unified planned administration can achieve the greatest economic results for the whole society, state unified administration should resolutely be practiced. If enterprise administration can achieve the greatest economic results for the whole society, administration should be resolutely given to enterprises.

People who exercise the right of enterprise administration can be leaders appointed by the state. They can also be leaders elected by laborers of enterprises. Whether they are leaders appointed by the state or elected by the masses, they cannot substitute laborers' direct participation in administration. Administration of enterprises and the national economy, which is similar to administration of the country, is the greatest and most fundamental right of laborers under the socialist system. Direct administration by laborers and administration by leaders should be mutually coordinated. Both mean direct integration of the means of production with laborers. The integration of the means of production with laborers does not mean physical integration of the two. It is a misconception to believe that only personal administration and personal exercise of such a right is direct integration. The integration of the means of production with laborers in socialist ownership by the whole people is the integration of laborers of the whole society with all the means of production of the economy of ownership by the whole people. Each laborer not only integrates directly with the means of production he uses, and not only integrates directly with all the means of production of the enterprise as a member of the laborers of the enterprise, but also integrates directly with all the means of production of the economy of ownership by the whole people as a member of the laborers of the whole society. Therefore, whether they are leaders appointed by the state or elected by the masses, and whether or not they are part of the broad masses of laborers, they should safeguard the right of control of the means of production of all laborers and should safeguard the interests of all laborers.

#### IV

The fact that laborers control the means of production of the economy of ownership by the whole people and that labor is the chief means of livelihood means that the distribution of products is mainly in accordance with the common interests of all laborers, and at the same time, consideration is given to individual interests of laborers. The distribution of products of the economy of ownership by the whole people can be divided into three parts: a part to compensate for consumption of the means of production, a part to compensate for the necessary consumption of labor, and a part as surplus labor.

The portion of products used to compensate consumption of the means of production still belongs to all the laborers. Based on actual need, laborers decide whether the products should be for centralized use or kept in the enterprise. Generally speaking, as long as the production of an enterprise is still a social need, a portion of the products should be kept in the enterprise to compensate for consumption of the means of production.

The portion of products used to compensate for necessary consumption of labor is distributed according to the principle of distribution according to work and in the form of individual income to laborers taking part in labor in the economy of ownership by the whole people. This shows consideration for the individual interests of laborers and also serves the needs of common interests of all laborers. Only in this way can the reproduction of the labor force of the economy of ownership by the whole people be guaranteed. It is an indispensable requirement for smooth reproduction of the economy of ownership by the whole people. Laborers who do not labor in the economy of ownership by the whole people cannot obtain individual income from the economy of ownership by the whole people. This is because within the economy of ownership by the whole people (it is the same within the economy of collective ownership), people have equal rights with regard to the relations of possession of the means of production. Therefore, the individual income of laborers cannot be connected with the pure right of possessing the means of production. It can only be connected with labor. Only under the system of exploitation, where people do not have equal rights with regard to the relations of possession of the means of production, can the exploiting classes obtain individual income by relying on the pure right of possession of the means of production. Relying on labor to obtain income is nothing more than restoring the true features of things. Products are fruits of labor and labor is the source of products. The socialist system gets rid of the false three-in-one formula of "capital--profit, land--rent, labor--wages."

That members of the collective economy cannot obtain individual income from the economy of ownership by the whole people does not imply that they no longer have anything to do with the right of possession in the economy of ownership by the whole people. Their right of possession is reflected not only in controlling the economy of ownership by the whole people through leaders at different levels in the economy of ownership by the whole people and through the state, but also in sharing the state income as components of all laborers.

Products created by the surplus labor of the economy of ownership by the whole people are divided into state income and enterprise income. State income is used for the public needs of the whole society, and this directly reflects the fact that it belongs to all laborers. Enterprise income is controlled by enterprises. It seems to belong to enterprises, that is, the whole people on a smaller scale. In reality, enterprise income is finally divided into two parts. A part is used for enterprise reproduction and for collective welfare which does not go to individuals. Actually, it is of the same nature as the original means of production of enterprises. It belongs to the laborers of the whole society and is controlled by enterprises on behalf of the laborers of the whole society in accordance with their interests. The other part is used for bonuses and for collective welfare for individuals. It actually belongs to individuals. Laborers do not rely on the right of possession and the right of control of the means of

production to share this part of enterprise income. It is the result of hard work, proper administration and more labor. That the portion of enterprise income proportionate to the extra labor put forth by individuals goes to these individuals is only a way of carrying out the principle of obtaining more for more work. Why is it that all income cannot be turned over to the state or kept for enterprises, since the portion of state income which goes to ownership of the whole people is of the same nature as the corresponding portion of enterprise income? This is determined by socialist large-scale production. Socialist large-scale production needs centralization and unification. It also needs relative independence. In distribution, this is expressed in state income and enterprise income. The ratio between state income and enterprise income should be fixed according to the concrete situation and should adhere to the principle of benefiting the development of social production. Since the portion of enterprise income which goes to ownership of the whole people is of the same nature as state income, the method of controlling this portion of enterprise income entirely according to the partial interests of enterprises is not proper.

In any case, in distribution, the interests of the state, the collectives and individuals should be considered. To be exact, consideration should be given both to the public interests of all laborers as owners of the means of production and to their individual interests as laborers. Public interests are realized through the distribution of surplus labor, and individual interests are realized through the distribution of compulsory labor. Part of the compulsory labor is directly distributed to laborers in the form of wages, and the other part is redistributed to laborers through the portion of the enterprise income which goes to individuals. Individual interests should be subordinated to the interests of the whole, and the interests of the whole should give consideration to individual interests.

## V

The means of production will not stand by themselves in the production process. They need guardians. Owners control and utilize the means of production according to their will. The will of owners is a reflection of the relations of ownership. It can correctly reflect the relations of ownership, but it can also reflect these relations in a distorted way.

All owners in the economy of ownership by the whole people, including leaders at different levels, laborers in the economy of ownership of the whole people and other laborers in society are bearers of relations of ownership by the whole people. They have a common will and share common interests. People often say that in a socialist society the fundamental interests of the whole people are the same and everybody has a common ideal and a common objective of struggle. People also often say that the communist spirit should be carried forward. All these result from the most solid foundation of public ownership of the means of production by laborers of the whole society. On the other hand, laborers in the economy of ownership by the whole people are at the same time realizers of relations of distribution according to work, and they have their own will and personal interests. This kind of will and interests is also subordinated to the common will and common interests of the whole people.

Nevertheless, the situation in real life is complicated. People will not spontaneously handle affairs according to the will and interests of laborers of the whole society. For various reasons, there are bound to be some people among leaders at different levels or among the broad masses of laborers whose will cannot precisely reflect the relations of ownership by the whole people and will even reflect the old relations of private ownership. They seek economic interests of a nonsocialist nature. For example, some enterprises one-sidedly seek partial interests. They even adopt the methods of doing shoddy work and using inferior materials, lowering quality and raising prices, and not hesitating to harm state interests. Therefore, we must strengthen party leadership and strengthen political and ideological work in our economic work, so that the will of the broad masses of laborers can reflect more precisely the relations of production of ownership by the whole people and so that the laborers can conscientiously give consideration to the interests of the state, the collectives and individuals.

Participants in the economy of ownership by the whole people have a different status in the division of work in society. The will of the people as owners has peculiarities which affect the economy in different ways. The will of leaders of the national economy affects the entire economy of ownership by the whole people. Their position makes it easy to observe the overall situation and to manage the economy according to the interests of laborers of the whole society. However, their position also makes it easy to lose contact with reality and with the masses. They also have the problem of how to sum up the will of laborers of the whole society and how to manage the national economy according to the interests of laborers of the whole society. Leaders of enterprises, departments and localities better understand the situations in their respective enterprises, departments and localities and can directly administer undertakings there better than other people. But their understanding of the entire economy of ownership by the whole people is quite limited and they should guard against the tendency of administering undertakings only according to partial interests. The broad masses of laborers taking part directly in production are at the grassroots level and do not know much about the overall situation. But they are the ones who understand best the different concrete situations in production and they are an important force in directly administering the grassroots level. Only by summing up the will of all the laborers can the development of the economy of ownership by the whole people be benefited.

The economy of ownership by the whole people is the chief foundation of our country's socialist system. It is still a young economy with powerful vitality. The temporary difficulties can eventually be overcome. We should further perfect the economy of ownership by the whole people through restructuring and making readjustments, consolidations and improvements so that the superiority of the socialist system can be fully brought into play.

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## THOROUGHLY ERADICATE THE INFLUENCE OF PERSONALITY CULTS

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[Article by Fang Wen [2455 2429] and Li Zhenxia [2621 2182 7209]]

[Text] While the entire party and the people of the entire country are conscientiously summing up our historical experiences, everyone is asking these questions: While efforts are being made to bring order out of chaos, why are there people who still want to persist in the "two whatevers" and oppose "practice as the only criterion for testing truth"? Why are commemorative articles sometimes tainted with a cult of the personality? Why, even after the central authorities' repeated exhortations on limiting publicity about individuals, are there still people who have time and again staged shows of the personality cults? A major cause is that these people have failed to correctly assess the historical role of the masses and individuals. For a long time there has existed in our political life a problem of giving a great deal of publicity to individuals and practicing personality cults. For this, our party and state have suffered a great deal and paid a dear price. Painful historical lessons have led us to seriously consider how to further eradicate modern superstition and eliminate its influence and how to prevent personality cults and to stop them from bringing calamity to the party and state.

### I

Guarding against and opposing personality cults is a Marxist principle that our party used to adhere to. At the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee, acting on Comrade Mao Zedong's advice, especially adopted a series of resolutions on guarding against personality cults. For some time after the founding of new China, Comrade Mao Zedong incessantly warned the people to guard against personality cults. When China's first constitution was drawn up, Comrade Mao Zedong personally deleted improper articles that praised the leader, and said that the deletions were made not out of modesty but because the articles were improper, unjustified and unscientific. In the article "On the Historical Experiences of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which was adopted at a discussion meeting of the Political Bureau presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong, he scientifically summed up Stalin's mistakes in practicing a personality cult and pointed out lessons that our party must learn. The eighth national party congress further stressed the question of opposing personality cults. In short, for a time after the founding of our republic, the party Central Committee did pay attention to guarding against and opposing personality cults.

However, amid the lavish praise--both domestic and foreign--of the great victory of the Chinese revolution, our party's leader gradually entertained a sense of arrogance, deviated from dialectical materialism and got bogged down in subjectivism. He then unduly exaggerated the role of the individual and overconcentrated all power into his own hands. In the article "On the Historical Experiences of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" published in 1956, it was correctly pointed out that the personality cult was a decadent legacy left by mankind's long history and a backward concept that harms the people's cause, and that a struggle must be launched to combat personality cults. The article "Again on the Historical Experiences of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" particularly pointed out Stalin's mistakes in practicing a personal dictatorship and damaging democratic centralism. It was both correct and necessary when we exposed Khrushchev's political conspiracy of totally negating Stalin under the pretense of opposing a personality cult. But at that time we overlooked a Marxist tenet of opposing all personality cults, which Marx time and again stressed, and held that there was a kind of so-called correct personality cult.

By the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we went ever farther and even proposed that "there should be a little personality cult" and that "there was a real need to engage in a little personality cult." This was a mistake, of course.

The shift from opposing to advocating a personality cult brought on serious social repercussions. Once the leader separated himself from relations with the masses and the collective and stood above the masses and the party, he was apt to become a cat's-paw of opportunistic and favor-carrying careerists and conspirators. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and their company deliberately made a stormy sea stormier via the personality cult issue. In face of the leftist error of 1958, they arbitrarily claimed what was erroneous was correct. They praised the leader as "God." In his article "Under the Banner of Comrade Mao Zedong," Chen Boda claimed that "under the banner of Comrade Mao Zedong, at this time when 'one day is equivalent to 20 years' and the national economy and culture are experiencing a general leap, people can already see the vista of our country's transition from socialism to communism in the near future. Under the guidance of this great red banner, the Chinese people will continue to march victoriously and achieve the great communism in the near future." He also raised the question of how to be a "Mao Zedong-type person" and asked everyone to think about the "Mao Zedong-type of kindheartedness" and look at the "Mao Zedong-type of new behavior"..., and so on and so forth. When the leftist error of 1958 was resisted and opposed by some comrades, Lin Biao declared in a meeting of top-level cadres: "Comrade Mao Zedong comprehensively and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism." "Studying the works of Chairman Mao is the shortcut to the study of Marxism-Leninism." During the early 1960's, Lin Biao specialized in writing articles encouraging the personality cult. It was also at this time that he advocated studying only the "quotations" and studying a phrase or two instead of a whole article. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" further played up the personality cult to its extreme. They created modern superstition and stirred up an obscurantist and barbarous deification campaign. They made a fetish of the leader and regarded one's attitude toward the leader as a primary criterion for differentiating between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary. Anyone showing the slightest bit of disrespect for the leader was punishable as a counterrevolutionary. Under the influence of their distortions

and instigations, a series of absurd "theories" and a serious personality cult emerged. Lin Biao brazenly declared: With the chairman as the axle, we are the millstones. He demanded that the party and the people revolve around one man. That meant completely abolishing the party's collective leadership and writing off the role of the other leaders of the party. This was used as a justification to do everything possible to overthrow the party's leading group as a whole. They preached that revolutionary theories were all created by one man. They insisted that Mao Zedong Thought was created from the mind of one individual genius and that the development of Marxism-Leninism could be accomplished only by Comrade Mao Zedong himself. They totally negated the role of the party, the collective leadership and the masses of the people.

In short, our errors on the question of personality cults brought about an extremely great disaster to our party and the people of our country and great political, economic and organizational damage. We must not fail to seriously learn this lesson.

## II

In our country, there was once a prevalent argument that there were two kinds of personality cults. The argument had a considerable bearing on the emergence of the personality cult. By the so-called two kinds of personality cults was meant that there was a wrong kind of personality cult and a correct kind of personality cult; that the personality cult which demands blind obedience without analysis was, of course, no good and not to be tolerated; but that the other kind of personality cult was not bad and was indispensable. For example, the correct things taught by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin must be worshiped and always worshiped, because truth was in their hands. The principal responsible person in a leading collective must also be worshiped. A squad must worship the squad leader. The minds of some people are still shackled by this viewpoint even today.

The personality cult is a decadent thing handed down from a very long human history. Marx pointed out: The historical idealists "suspect the whole humanity, yet sanctify individuals. They sketch a horrible image of human nature, while asking us to prostrate ourselves before the sacred image of some privileged personalities." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 80)

The personality cult is the deification and idolization of the worshiped individual and the negation of the role of the masses of the people and the power of the collective, thus resulting in blind faith in the individual. This kind of blind faith is fundamentally opposed to science. According to the dialectical law, "there does not exist anything that is ultimate, absolute and sacred." We have no reason to deify the role of any individual in history and practice any form of personality cult. Historical materialism holds that the individual plays a great role in history. He can often influence the fate of social history and can promote or obstruct historical development. It is wrong to negate the role of the individual in history. However, this is not a reason for us to exaggerate the role of the individual and advocate the personality cult, because the ultimate deciding factor in historical development is not the wishes and activities of heroes but economic development in society. Productive forces are the "basis of all history." The ultimate decisive force in historical development is the form

of production of material things. The producers of material things are the working people. Therefore, the masses are the creators of history; no hero or great man can reverse the general trend of historical development. On the contrary, heroes and great men only emerge in conformity with this trend. Marx said: "Every social epoch needs its great men, and when it does not find them, it invents them, as Helvetius says." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 450) That is to say, any great man is a product of history. He only emerges in accordance with the objective needs of social development. There are many conditions which will allow the great men to play their roles and the most basic one is that they must not be divorced from the masses and must rely on the masses. If they cannot represent the masses' interests and cannot rely on the masses' support, even the most outstanding leaders will be helpless and will not be able to put their talents to use. Thus, any hero or great man can only play an important role in accelerating the development of history when he correctly understands the trends of social development and reflects and satisfies the desires and demands of the masses of the people. Conversely, when he attempts to change historical conditions merely on the basis of his own fantasy and against the desire and demands of the people, historical tragedies of one kind or another will ensue. Therefore, the individual's role in history cannot be divorced from the specific environment and conditions, particularly from the masses' support. That view which holds that there is the so-called correct kind of personality cult runs counter to the Marxist principle on the masses' and the individual's roles in history.

One of the arguments of those who advocate the correct kind of personality cult is that whoever has the truth should be worshiped. This argument is hardly convincing.

Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement. Marxist theory is our great ideological weapon in our revolutionary struggle. Under the guidance of Marxist general truth, we have won the victory of the proletarian revolution. Thus, revolutionary teachers such as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong deserve the masses' support, love and respect. However, Marxist truth, like all other truths, is still a unity of relative truth and absolute truth. The sum total of the cognitive ability of mankind from generation to generation is unlimited, but the cognitive ability of an individual is always limited. Even in the case of an outstanding leader of the proletariat, his ideas, writings and speeches are equally limited by the conditions of the era in which he lives. Even the ideology and theory that are proven correct by practice in a given period may still show the incompleteness of truth, even errors, in some aspects when they are tested by new practices. Engels said: "We are just about at the beginning of human history, and the generations which will correct us are likely to be far more numerous than those whose knowledge we are in a position to correct--often enough with considerable contempt." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 125)

Historical materialism holds that social existence determines social consciousness. Each stage of development of ideology and theory is inseparable from the objective needs of social development and the development of social practice.

Marxist truth comes from the revolutionary practice of the masses of people. It is a reflection and summing-up of the practical activities of the masses of people. It definitely is not innate in the mind of a certain individual, and it is not something subjective or spontaneous. For example, Mao Zedong Thought is mainly the contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong, but it was not created by Comrade Mao Zedong alone. The proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation also participated in the establishment and development of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the party and the people, a proletarian revolutionary science that has emerged from the protracted struggles of the party and the people. Therefore, the argument that whoever has the truth "must be worshiped" and must "be always worshiped" is a departure from the source and development of man's knowledge, for it regards the ideology of the leader as the wisdom of the leader alone and as an immutable dogma.

Another rationale for advocating the correct kind of personality cult was that people ought to worship the principal responsible person, that is to say, the "squad leader" in the collective leadership.

The principal responsible person in a collective leadership is a member of a collective. Even the principal leaders of the party and the state are members of a collective. They must move in the collective and must not be above the collective. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in the article "Methods of Work of Party Committees" that the "squad leader" we are talking about refers to party committee secretaries. "The secretary must be a good 'squad leader.'" "The relation between the secretary and the committee members is one in which the minority must obey the majority, so it is different from the relation between a squad leader and his men. Here we speak only by way of analogy." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1378) This passage shows that the relation between the secretary and committee members is not that of superior and subordinate. In the Meeting of 7,000 in 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong also warned against engaging in the "dictatorship of the first secretary" and reiterated that the relation between the first secretary and other secretaries and committee members is one in which the minority obeys the majority, that the relation between the secretary and committee members is one of equality and that each of them has only one vote. Within the party committee, the difference between the secretary and committee members is merely a matter of division of labor and not a relation in which one is the ruler and the others followers, much less should there be the question of who is to worship whom. However, this relationship has been damaged for many years. The "squad leader" of party committees at various levels have had the power of taking command, issuing orders and making the final decision. The "squad leader" of the highest collective leadership of the party was gradually sanctified. The extremely abnormal phenomenon of secretaries being above the other committee members and the "squad leader" of the Political Bureau becoming the boss of the Political Bureau came about. The situation wherein one single vote became the vote that overrides all the others and decides everything and wherein only one person has the say was created. The system of democratic centralism was replaced by personal dictatorship and great damage was done to the cause of the party.

In short, both the erroneous personality cult and the so-called correct kind of personality cult are opposed to Marxism, opposed to our party's scientific thesis

which holds that the personality cult is a decadent social phenomenon and opposed to our party's policy on personality cult since the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee. Thus, we must oppose all forms of personality cults and eliminate their influence. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," there are people who still engage in the personality cult. This cannot but arouse our concern. We must further completely rectify the error of personality cult.

### III

To thoroughly correct the mistakes of personality cults it is necessary to find out the causes and conditions that engender them, so that proper actions for their eradication can be taken.

People cannot create history as they like under conditions that they choose. They can only create history under set and inherited conditions which they encounter. "The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 603) All exploiting classes' philosophy of history is historical idealism. From the slave-owners to the landlords, to the bourgeoisie, all of them take the viewpoint of the exploiting class, ignore the masses' role in history and think that only the "supermen" and "giants" of the exploiting class are the creators of history. This historical tradition weighs on us like a nightmare. What influences China most are harmful traditions of feudal despotism and the force of habits of small producers, which are social and historical causes engendering personality cults.

In China's feudal society of over 2,000 years, the political system was a centralized feudal monarch. The emperor was the supreme lord over the entire nation. "The whole world belongs to the emperor and all the territories belong to the emperor and lords." The emperor "received instructions" from heaven and ruled according to the will of heaven. The world belonged to the emperor's family and the emperor was the patriarch of the whole world. Therefore, the emperor was the supreme lord over the entire nation. He enjoyed absolute power and dictated all state affairs. Feudal society spared no effort to propagate the patriarchal and ethical relations between "emperor and ministers" and between "father and sons" as well as the concept of loyalty to one individual--the emperor. The ministers regarded "one should be in a state of anxiety when the emperor is absent for 3 days" as their guiding principle. The working people were completely powerless and were regarded as "ants" whom the overlords could trample at will. China was under feudal rule for a long time. The revolution of 1911, which was an old democratic revolution by the bourgeoisie, did not and could not thoroughly accomplish the task of overthrowing feudalism. The victory of the new democracy led by our party destroyed feudal economic and political systems. But no systematic criticism has been unfolded against the ideas of feudal despotism. Therefore, feudal ideas still hold wide sway in our social life and in the political life of the party. In the history of the party, Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guotao and Wang Ming all practiced paternalism and imperiously suppressed views that differed from their own, thus harming our revolutionary cause. After the founding of the republic, we mentioned only combating bourgeois ideas without mentioning eradicating feudal influences. We held that in ideological struggles there were only two schools of ideology, namely, the proletarian and bourgeois ideologies, and overlooked the struggle against the pernicious influence of

feudalism. At the same time, we also failed to establish a perfect socialist democratic system or to perfect the socialist legal system, which was even criticized as bourgeois democracy. The result was that the pernicious influence of feudalism spread, and the pernicious influence of paternalism and the system of "one person laying down the law" affected all aspects of political life in both the party and the state.

China's feudal system was built on an economic structure with petty peasants as the major ingredient. The small producers system was characterized by their unawareness of their own power and their inability to master their own fate. They hitched their hopes to a "good emperor" or "savior" of the world. While analyzing the small farmers in France, Marx pointed out that they were like a bag of potatoes, made up of individual potatoes in the bag. With regard to their economic conditions and lifestyle, they formed a class. However, with regard to the fact that they did not form any national association or political organization, they did not form a class. Therefore, "they cannot represent themselves, they must be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, as an unlimited governmental power that protects them against the other classes and sends them rain and sunshine from above. The political influence of the small-holding peasants, therefore, finds its final expression in the executive power subordinating society to itself." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 693) Although China's small producer economy has essentially been cooperativized, the force of habits, such as personality cults, deifying individuals and genuinely and sincerely singing the praises of "saviors," still holds extensive sway among small producers. This provides an extensive social base for personality cults. In a certain sense, the personality cult among the revolutionary ranks is a reflection of the pernicious influence of feudal autocracy, the mentality of worshipping power by small producers and the concept of dependence. Of course, there are causes both in ideology and in workstyle causing the emergence of personality cults that require us to vigorously strengthen our ideological and political work. But there are more important causes that exist in the system, because problems related to the system are more fundamental, of more overall importance and more protracted. With a good organizational and work system, the bad people will not have a way to wreak havoc. With a poor system, good people cannot do good things and could even go in the opposite direction. Even great leaders are subject to the serious influence of a bad system, bringing great tragedies to the party and state and even to the leaders themselves. Facts have shown that the overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals and life tenure of leadership positions indeed push people in the opposite direction. This is even independent of the leaders' will. For a long period, a problem of overconcentration of power has existed in our leadership system. Under the slogan of strengthening the party's unified leadership, we improperly and indiscriminately concentrated all power in the party committee, and the power of the party committee was often concentrated in the hands of a number of secretaries, particularly the first secretary. The first secretary had to take the lead in initiating all tasks. Thus, the party's unified leadership often became the leadership of one individual. All major decisions were made by one individual. That individual could overrule resolutions and decisions by the party and the collective. The relation between secretary and committee members became that of superior and subordinate. Committee members had to obey the secretary. When differences of opinion arose between the leader and

the led, no comradely discussion was possible and only the leader's opinion was ever considered.

If power is overconcentrated in the hands of one individual, then it will be "alienated" under certain circumstances. Party and state power will become that individual's power. The power that serves the party and state becomes the power that controls the party and the state. As a result, democratic centralism will be undermined, and antidemocratic arbitrary decisions made by the individual will prevail.

In his report to the Meeting of the 7,000, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: If we do not fully develop democracy among the people and democracy within the party, "the dictatorship of the proletariat will change into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or even the reactionary dictatorship of fascism." When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, the above thesis became a reality in those places where their influence prevailed. From this bitter experience we have learned a lesson: the question of system has an important bearing on whether the party and state will change political color or not. We must never lower our guard.

Fundamentally speaking, a backward economy and culture are the prerequisite for the existence of personality cults and other phenomena. Economic and cultural backwardness is inseparable from ignorance and blind faith. If we do not make efforts to raise the people's economic conditions and their cultural and scientific levels, it will be difficult to thoroughly eliminate the masses' mentality toward the personality cults, which calls for the existence of a "savior." Therefore, our fundamental task is to strive hard to carry out the four modernizations, rapidly develop productive forces in society and change our backward economy and culture. Along with the development of productive forces, the rise of the people's scientific and cultural levels and the improvement and development of socialist democracy and democracy within the party, the question of the personality cults and giving prominence to the individual will certainly be thoroughly solved.

CS0: 4004

IT IS NECESSARY TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO INSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN ELIMINATING THE REMNANT INFLUENCE OF FEUDALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 80 pp 34-38

[Article by Lin Ji. gyao [2651 0079 5069] and Chen Yuan [7115 6678]]

[Text] It is a major and urgent task for us to eliminate the remnant influence of feudalism in the areas of politics, economy, culture and all aspects of social life. People are now generally concerned about how this task should be done. Some comrades wonder if the issue of eliminating the remnant influence of feudalism is going to be dismissed like a gust of wind, because it has been raised for a good number of months and yet very little has been done though much has been said. This is a misunderstanding caused by a lack of comprehension of how it is to be done, but it also reflects the eagerness of the vast number of cadres and the broad masses of people that the remnant influence be completely eliminated. As far as this issue is concerned, we should follow this policy: for the cadres and the people, elimination of the remnant influence of feudalism is a kind of self-education and self-reform to rid themselves of the harmful traditions of feudalism, emancipate their minds and heighten their awareness to suit the needs of modernized construction. While eliminating this influence, emphasis should be placed on the conscientious reforming and perfecting of the party and the state institutions in order to insure the democratization of the political life of the party and the state, economic management and all aspects of social life from an institutional approach. This is a correct policy advanced by the party Central Committee based on its past experiences in the various movements and is in conformity with our present actual situation. In accordance with this policy, we cannot launch the kind of movement to eliminate the remnant influence of feudalism like the movements in the past. While deeply criticizing the remnant influence of feudalism politically and ideologically, we also have to lay emphasis on institutional reform.

I

In the course of eliminating the remnant influence of feudalism, emphasis must also be put on various concrete institutional reforms decided by the actual situation in our country. In our existing management systems for politics, economy and culture, there are serious shortcomings and malpractices which all have a strong feudalistic flavor.

In politics, power is overconcentrated. The leadership exercised by the Communist Party has for a long time been misrepresented as a monopoly of everything. In practical life, the leadership exercised by the party committee has turned out to be the concentration of power in the hands of the several secretaries, or even the first secretary, of the party committee. Inevitably this system of a high degree of concentration of power in one individual will cause this individual to act arbitrarily and decide on major issues by himself. The persons holding primary responsibilities in the party committees in some localities or units are placed above the government, the procuratorate and the court system, and they make decisions that should have been made by the government departments or the judiciary. As a result, a man is replacing the government and the law, and whatever the individual says goes. People angrily asked in the past, "Which is more powerful, a secretary, the constitution or the law?" Basically, such a state of affairs is brought about by the high degree of concentration of power in the individual in the existing system, and this still occurs frequently, even though emphasis has been placed on socialist democracy and legal system for the past few years. For instance, some party committee secretaries still are making unauthorized decisions on how cases should be handled, and sometimes they even replace leading cadres in the judiciary who have been elected by the people's congress. This shows that the phenomenon of an individual acting arbitrarily, brought about by the overconcentration of power, has not been removed from real life. One of the main features of autocratic feudalism is that all the legislative, judicial and executive powers of the state are in the hands of the supreme ruler. The above-mentioned systems and practices that are contrary to the principles of socialist democracy cannot be simply summed up as autocratic feudalism, yet they are indeed related to the remnant influence of feudalism. As far as the cadre system is concerned, we have long been in need of a sound and concrete system of election, recall, recruitment, dismissal and retirement. But, on the contrary, certain formal and informal systems in contravention of socialist democracy have been formed. These include the system of life appointment to a leading post and the appointment of a successor by an individual. In practice, the leading cadres at all levels are appointed by their superiors. In addition, their powers and the question of whether they can stay in their jobs are also given and decided by their superiors. Consequently, this gives rise to the rotten concept, idea and workstyle of many leading cadres who think that it is their superiors to whom they are responsible, and not the people. These shortcomings and malpractices in our cadre system are the vestiges of feudalism.

In the economy, there are also quite a few vestiges of the feudal natural economy in our existing economic management system. For example, economic organizations are attached to administrative organizations. Economy is organized in accordance with the administrative system and divisions and not with the internal relations of the economy. Hence, many economic barriers are created and economic activities are restricted to a designated area; coercion is practiced by administrative decree from the top and by resort to political power. This is in fact a vestige of feudal economic coercion, and is the incarnation of the "small but complete" and "large and complete" features of the feudal natural economy as well as the reflection that an economic unit is a society which forms a system on its own within certain limits and is self-sufficient. This is contrary to the principle of division of labor and specialization of socialized production. These vestiges of feudalism, together with the ideas and ways of management of government

officials and of the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors, have seriously hindered the bringing into play of the initiative of the localities, economic units and laborers, and have presented an obstacle to the development of the socialist commodity economy as well as to the cause of socialism.

In science and culture, there are vestiges, more or less, of feudal cultural despotism in our existing management system. For example, too much administrative interference, too much or too rigid supervision, designation of forbidden zones, imposing of restrictions and fetters, and unnecessary or too many examination systems. For the past several years, besides criticizing the feudal cultural despotism and obscurantism carried out by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, we have in practice formulated general and specific policies favorable to the development of science and culture as well as to the thorough execution of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." However, the influence of feudal cultural despotism has not been completely eliminated. Some responsible comrades in some departments are still of the opinion that they know more about science, literature and art than the scientists, writers and artists. Consequently, they still make a habit of interfering with scientific, literary and artistic matters of a purely academic nature by means of administrative measures. Arguments over artistic issues, bludgeoning and putting labels on people, also take place from time to time. All these things are unfavorable to the development and prosperity of science and culture as well as to the training of people in the professional skills so desperately needed for modernized socialist construction.

Earlier we mentioned some of the shortcomings and malpractices in certain existing systems. Although their causes are rather complicated, when we said there are remnant influences or vestiges of feudalism, this was by no means alarmist talk, and we are merely stating an objective fact which people should become aware of at this time. We point these things out because they do exist and because we want to better distinguish between socialism and feudalism and bring our socialist system to perfection. Over a long period of time, we have often been, consciously or unconsciously, treating some systems with a strong feudalistic flavor as "socialist" ones and protecting them, thinking that this is the way socialism should be and that any suggestion of reform would be unacceptable. This shows that many of our comrades are strongly influenced by feudalism.

## II

Why then are there still remnant influences of feudalism in a socialist country which has been established for more than 30 years? Why do these influences exist in some of our current systems? The causes are abundant and intricate. What we would like to analyze in particular is as follows.

One thing that is certain is that our country has eliminated the system of exploitation and established the socialist political and economic system. This is a brand-new social system. In the course of founding the theory of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels had put forth some tentative ideas about the socialist system after an in-depth and penetrating analysis of social forms, capitalist or otherwise. These ideas reflected their understanding of the general laws of

human social development as well as the ideal of a future society cherished by the working class and the laboring people. But the ideas about socialism were advanced by Marx and Engels under particular social economic and political conditions, and were the outcome of the civilization of Western Europe at the time. Furthermore, as the ideas were not put into practice in the days of Marx and Engels, no socialist pattern had been formed. Now, we have established our socialist system upon a semifeudalistic and semicolonialist base and our economy, science and culture are all lagging far behind. In these circumstances, no man would or could provide a socialist pattern for such a country. Consequently, at the early stage of the founding of our state, we had to copy some of the aspects of the Soviet system and their way of doing things for lack of experience, thinking that this was the best way. At the same time, we also consulted some of the systems and methods introduced during the period of revolutionary war in order to establish our new system. A socialist system thus established can never be perfect. A socialist system in a general sense is just the same as all other systems. It is a process and cannot be perfect the moment it is established. One of the shortcomings is that it still bears the vestiges of old systems. However, this is logical from an historical point of view.

Ours is a country with one of the oldest and the most fully developed feudal systems in the world. The democratic revolution led by our party once and for all overthrew this system. But the concepts, habits and traditions of feudalism, formed and developed over the past several thousand years, are deeprooted. They would not step down from the stage of history once the democratic revolution was successful. In particular, the feudal ideology would not disappear the moment the feudal system was eliminated. On the contrary, it would remain for quite a long time in the hearts of people, influencing our party life and other aspects of social life such as politics, economy and culture, and continue to contaminate the bodies of our party and state. In the course of doing away with the old systems and establishing new ones, remnant influences of this kind have inevitably been brought in. As a result, in those systems established under these influences, which include the management systems for politics, economy and culture, there are bound to be vestiges of feudalism.

To the awakened working class and revolutionary people, the remnant influences of the traditions of feudalism, which has been in existence for thousands of years, are not an irresistible force. That there are still traces of feudalism in many of our existing systems should, to a fairly large extent, be attributed to our work. All along during the international communist movement, no definite policy, be it theoretical or practical, has been formulated on the issue that an anti-feudal war should be fought right to the end after the success of the democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. Very often people are not sufficiently aware of the stubbornness of the remnant influences of feudalism. They think that, by overthrowing the system of feudal despotism, establishing a democratic state power and abolishing the feudal system of land ownership in a country long subject to a feudal reign and where capitalism does not develop, the task of countering feudalism has been accomplished. From then on the task is to fight against capitalism and the bourgeoisie. In this way, the task of eliminating the remnant influences of feudalism is overlooked, if not canceled. Traces of these influences might remain in our new systems under socialist slogans, but in the course of forming and establishing the new systems, people

are not psychologically prepared for such a serious fact, nor are they on the alert and on guard. As a result, the remnant feudal thoughts that remain in people's minds are not weakened. On the contrary, they grow, expand and infiltrate some of our systems.

After completion of our "three great reforms," political movements were launched one after the other, almost all of which were aimed at "capitalism" and the "bourgeoisie." Of course, out-and-out "capitalism" and the "bourgeoisie" should be criticized. But it turns out that very often what is not capitalist or bourgeois has been criticized while the remnant influences of feudalism have been overlooked to a fairly large extent. Although the practices of "patriarchal system," "what I say goes," "specialization" and "bureaucracy" had been criticized in the past as indications of feudal thought, the fight against the remnant influences of feudalism was not treated as a serious task. Furthermore, the vestiges of feudalism in many specific systems had been left alone. In the 10 years of turbulence, democracy, the theory of human nature, the systems of commodity and currency, exchange at equal value and even distribution according to work were subject to unprecedentedly brutal criticism. The pernicious influence of feudalism, which was never completely eliminated, was revived by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques and ran rampant. Therefore, despite the fact that our state has existed for over 30 years, pernicious feudal influences still remain to a very large extent in some of our existing systems. As no persistent struggle against the remnant influences of feudalism has been waged, we suffer a great deal and pay a dear price. History has taught us that in a country like ours, where capitalism had been very fragile and feudalism very strong, we must place continuous emphasis on the fight against the remnant influences of feudalism, maintain vigilance and guard against the corrosion of the bodies of our party and state. As for those feudal elements that infiltrate our system, they should be timely cleared away.

### III

The grave shortcomings and malpractices in many of our existing systems, particularly in those with a strong feudalistic flavor, are great obstacles to our four modernizations. Although it is a bit late for us to advocate the elimination of the remnant influences of feudalism, positive and negative experiences since the founding of our state have taught us that no advance can be made without eliminating these influences. Accordingly, we consider it an important task and put it on the order of the day. We can depend on the socialist system itself to wipe out the feudal traces left in some specific system. This indicates that our socialist system is strong and vital, strong enough to overcome various shortcomings and to become perfect.

Some of our existing systems are unsound and imperfect, and this allows the residue of feudalism to grow. We institute reforms in order to eliminate, basically, the remnant influences of feudalism. In addition, there are traces of feudalism in some of our systems themselves, and the reason why we initiate reforms is to eliminate these traces. In short, we are putting emphasis on institutional reform in our present effort to eliminate the remnant influences of feudalism.

The systems with feudal traces are the main causes of our past mistakes. Although the mistakes are definitely related to the way of thinking, quality and workstyle of certain leading working personnel, the shortcomings and malpractices in systems play a more important role. Thoughts and styles such as patriarchal behavior, "what I say goes," social estate ideology, "special privilege" mentality and bureaucracy, which bear feudal traces and are found in cadres, especially leading cadres, are related to the shortcomings and malpractices of our existing systems. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze under given historical conditions our previous mistakes and unwise moves, including such a serious mistake as the 10 years of catastrophe, devote special effort to identify the causes from an institutional point of view and effect a total reform.

As we develop what will be our new history, modernization and democratization are inseparable. In fact, they supplement each other. No modernization can be realized without democratization. But if we do not institute reforms to eliminate the remnant influences of feudalism in our existing systems and do not set up new systems so that democratic systems and the law can be introduced into socialism, democratization will not be possible. For instance, suppose that some of our systems have made it possible for the person first in command in the party committee, who should have only one vote, to have the right of veto. Suppose that despite the fact that only what he says goes, and what the deputy secretary and other committee members say has no effect, no one is able to do anything to him. Under such circumstances, how can there be real socialist democracy? Therefore, to speed up democratization, we must reform those systems which have feudal vestiges. This point is now more readily understood by the vast number of cadres and the broad masses of people.

Political, economic and cultural systems are generally of fundamental and overall importance. Their effects are felt for long periods of time. In addition, they are relatively stable. For more than a year we have been stressing the expansion of the decisionmaking power of economic units. This change really affects the situation as a whole. It reveals that there are serious shortcomings in our existing system of economic management, many of which have a feudalistic flavor, and no advancement can be made without reform. We are aware that there must be reform. Therefore, in the course of eliminating the remnant influences of feudalism, it is essential that we criticize feudalism in the ideological field and publish articles to whip up ideological opinion. Ideological criticism creates conditions for our reform, removing the obstacles to it. But it is only when we pay special attention to institutional reform that we will be able to obtain practical results, remove feudal influences from our real life and consolidate the achievements of ideological criticism. In the course of instituting reforms, we have to abolish some old systems and establish some new ones, many of which will have to be introduced and consolidated. The traces of feudalism will be eliminated with the implementation of each and every reform. For example, if we could abolish the system of life appointment to a leading post, much of the remnant influences of feudalism in this respect would be removed. Another example is that we should establish and perfect the voting system for the party committee, really applying the principle of one vote per person. In addition, there should be division of work between the party and the government, and the procuratorate and the law courts should exercise their functions and power in strict accordance with the provisions of the law and let no one interfere unlawfully. In

that case, those thoughts and styles with a strong feudalistic flavor such as the patriarchal system and "what I say goes" would be reduced to a very large extent. No consolidation of the achievements in eliminating the remnant influences of feudalism is possible unless special attention is paid to institutional reforms. If it is not, we will not be able to eliminate the influences that actually exist despite our criticism of feudalism year after year, and the problem will remain unsolved. If we do not earnestly act according to the policy put forward by the party Central Committee for eliminating these influences, then such a possibility will definitely exist. We should clearly understand this.

To rectify the serious shortcomings and malpractices in our existing systems and eliminate the remnant influences of feudalism is a very difficult and complicated task, which should be resolutely discharged by seriously conducting a series of investigations in order of importance and urgency. Feudalism conflicts with science and democracy. To eliminate the remnant influences of feudalism, we also have to pay attention to science and democracy. In other words, we have to identify in a scientific way the feudal traces in our existing systems and suggest in what way and how reforms should be introduced. This kind of work is not something that can be done by vigorous propaganda, condemning feudalism both in speech and writing, or by launching some kind of movement. What it takes is down-to-earth work. If we can remove the feudal traces in our systems by means of firm and careful reforms under the leadership of the party, we will definitely be able to fulfill the task, left over from history, of eliminating the remnant influences of feudalism.

CSO: 4004

## ANGRY ROAR COMING FROM POLAND'S EASTERN NEIGHBOR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 80 pp 38-39

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] The greatest wave of strikes in Poland since the war has been basically settled after repeated negotiations and consultations between the striking workers and the Polish authorities. International public opinion holds different views and makes different evaluations of the causes and effects of the Polish strikes. Yet anyone with the minimal respect for truth and principles of international relations, anyone who is not bent on spreading rumors and who does not have ulterior motives, will admit: The Polish incident is an internal affair of Poland. It is a problem for the Polish people and their government to resolve. No foreign country has the right to interfere in this affair.

However, since the Polish incident occurred, people the world over have all observed: Angry roars can frequently be heard from Poland's eastern neighbor. It has been issuing threats and intimidating Poland. Its main point is to attack this incident as an indication that "antisocialist forces" in Poland are "collaborating" with forces of imperialism to "subvert" Poland. People have heard enough of these cliches and stereotyped accusations. This has been the usual excuse for the Soviet hegemonists' suppression of other countries within the "community." It is a big stick they use in their propaganda. People have yet to see the real intentions hidden behind this propaganda. But one thing is for sure: the Soviet Union wants to apply pressure on the Polish workers and authorities, to try to control the development of events from the outside and to prevent Poland from going beyond the limits allowed by the Soviet Union and from jeopardizing Soviet rule over the "community." If we view this in the light of the recent large-scale movement and deployment of Soviet troops near the Polish border, Soviet intentions become more obvious.

Over the past years, the Soviet hegemonists have gradually shown their intention of playing the role of international gendarme on the world political stage. They have acquired the habit of arbitrarily interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, subverting foreign governments and even occupying foreign territories. Wherever an event occurs that jeopardizes their contention for the consolidation of hegemony, they will try to interfere. The claws of the bear are always itching for action.

The United States has played such a role of international gendarme for a long time since the end of World War II. Wherever the masses demanded democracy and national independence, America would move in to interfere and suppress. The result of this, contrary to what it wished, was that the hatred and resistance of people of various countries were aroused, the movements for national awakening and national liberation became stronger and the United States sank into an extremely isolated and pathetic situation. U.S. aggressor troops were beaten everywhere and suffered great losses. Wherever official U.S. representatives went, they were declared persona non grata. Cries of "Yankees, go home!" filled the air. Rotten tomatoes and eggs were hurled at them. The Latin American countries, once termed as the "backyard" of the United States, decried their being "too far from God, too near the United States." Anti-American sentiments were particularly strong in those countries. Generally speaking, over the long years that the United States has been an international gendarme, it paid a great price yet gained so little, resulting in great damage to its national power. This has led some people to think that today, America is no longer a superpower and that it is only a big power.

If the Soviet hegemonists want to be the new international gendarme, their fate will be even worse than that of the Americans. If we can say that in the past years America relied on dollars, aside from military strength, to play its role, the Soviet Union can only rely on its military force or mainly rely on its military force. The fact is, those who use military force to interfere in other countries' internal affairs, to violate the sovereignty of other states and to occupy the territories of other nations, no matter under what pretext and no matter how they try to argue out and cover up their actions, will gain a notorious reputation and will be ostracized and punished. The Soviet military invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 greatly revealed its features as social imperialism. Even now it is still being criticized by international public opinion. All aggressive actions represent mighty explosives planted under the feet of the aggressors. The fury of the Czechoslovak people could set off these explosives any time and blow the aggressors to pieces. The Soviet military invasion and occupation of Afghanistan in the past year has aroused more widespread and even stronger international protest and sanctions. The flames of the Afghan people's resistance movement have been lighted under the feet of the aggressors. At present the Soviet Union has overstretched itself in its external expansion. It is now overburdened and has sunk into quagmires in several places. If it still engages in brutal intervention against the Polish people, who cherish independence so much and who have a very strong sense of national pride, it can be expected that the result will be even worse for the Soviet Union.

Dark clouds are gathering over Poland. The warning of "do not interfere in Poland" has been sounded. All peaceloving people of the world who uphold national dignity are observing with watchful eyes the development of events.

CSO: 4004

## THE LITERATURE AND ART SYSTEM SHOULD BECOME MORE SCIENTIFIC AND DEMOCRATIC

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 80 pp 40-43

[Article by Zheng Bonong [6774 0110 6593]]

[Text] Recently, people in literary and art circles have been enthusiastically discussing questions concerning the reform of the literature and art system. Some comrades suggest that, at present, we must first of all encourage the broad masses of literary and art workers, as well as other comrades in all walks of life interested in this question, to express their ideas fully, to contend with each other when their opinions differ and to compare each other's proposals, so as to pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone and absorb all useful ideas and find a feasible way for implementing the reform. I am highly in favor of this suggestion. And I would like to offer some of my rather crude opinions, fully expecting them to be corrected.

### I

There are about 700,000 literary and art workers in our country. Their work is governed by two main systems: one is the government system and the other is the association system. Work falling under the category of art--the film, drama, music, fine arts, dance, folk art, acrobatics, puppet shows and shadow shows--is mainly under the art administrative organs of the government. Under the State Council there is the Ministry of Culture, under which there are several departments and bureaus, and under each bureau there are different sections, divisions and offices. It is through these organizations that the whole country's professional art schools and troupes are governed. Work falling under the category of literature--fiction, poetry and prose--is governed by the association system. Although associations are mass organizations, they have been brought into the state system. As a result of the party's taking the place of government and there being no distinction between party and government affairs, the association system is almost the same as the government's cultural organs. Thus, it is reasonable to say that the literary and art work in our country is under multiple leadership.

Ours is a socialist country, in which literary and art work must be led by the party and managed by the state. The problem now is that the management is too rigid. There are shortcomings in this method. As exists in our state's political life, the unhealthy phenomenon of overconcentration of power also exists in the literary and art fields. In the economic field, there exists the so-called

"official industry," "official agriculture" and "official commerce," and in the realm of literature and art there exists "official literature." This rigid management can be seen mainly in the organization and supervision of art work and in the use and administration of cadres; it also can be seen in economic management. According to conventional practices, the leaders of literary and art organizations must be appointed by party and government organs, and working personnel must also be assigned by higher organs. Art organizations report to higher authorities on literary creations and programs. Only after receiving the approval of the higher authorities can they be put into practice. Scenarios, too, and other new pieces must be examined and then approved by the higher authorities before they can be performed before an audience. Take film examination regulations for example. It was clearly written in the "decisions on strengthening film studio work" issued by the government administration council in 1953 that "it is necessary from now on to take realistic measures and establish an examination system at the central level and at each unit, so that both will examine scenarios for feature films. Production plans for full-length documentary films and films already finished must first be examined by the Film Bureau of the central Ministry of Culture, and then be approved by the latter." During the 10 years of turbulence, the "gang of four" tightly controlled film production. Whether a film could be produced or shown had to be personally decided by the heads of the "gang of four," sometimes even by the chairman of the party Central Committee. For example, the film "Pioneers" was allowed to be shown to the public only after this instruction personally issued by Comrade Mao Zedong: "Suggest it be approved and released." By smashing the "gang of four," we have also smashed their fascist autocracy in cultural work. In 1979, suggestions were made by the department concerned to transfer the film examination authority to lower levels, but, in practice, many scenarios and films still need to be examined at each level before being produced and shown. Obviously, this system of examinations at each level is harmful to the bringing into play of the initiative of literary and art organizations and, at the same time, has prolonged artistic production.

Owing to rigid administration, the literary and art organizations have become bureaucratic and overstaffed. Literary and art organizations should be units full of vigor in creating products of the mind. However, there are quite a few of them which have the atmosphere of a government office. In addition to personnel directly engaged in artistic production, there are a number of "literary officers." Art and academic problems are solved by people in accordance with the amount of their power or by examination and approval at each level, sometimes even by circulated documents. The phenomenon of giving wrong and impracticable orders and of arbitrarily interfering often occurs. The bureaucratic workstyle and red tape can be seen everywhere. As a result of this workstyle, many literary and art organizations are overstaffed. Since the skills of the personnel is not being properly used, some are unable to apply in their work what they have learned. Besides, they have to stay in one department for a long time, having no choice of work once they are assigned. Since there is no proper system for transfer, some actors or actresses, although too old to continue to perform, cannot move to other, more suitable posts, but must remain at their originally assigned posts. Owing to the unequal allocation of work, some key members have a heavy workload while a few others, who have done nothing in the way of creating or performing, still draw their pay and rewards as usual. As a result of being

overstaffed and inefficient, artistic production is slowed. Among over 100 members in a provincial acrobatic troupe, only about 30 can actually perform on stage. Some literary and art workers say that there are now more people governing and living on literature and art than those doing the actual work.

It is necessary for our country to build both material and mental bases. However, some key links in artistic production relations do not suit the development of art production forces, and they have hampered the initiative and creative spirit of writers and artists and have adversely affected the flourishing of literature and art. Recently, discussions were held in literary and art circles on how to improve the leadership and how to enliven literary work. Not only the workstyle and leadership method, but also the leadership system, should be improved. Without a reform of the latter, it is almost impossible to improve the leadership style and method, because an improper leadership system only perpetuates an incorrect leadership style and method. This is why the reform of the literature and art system has been urgently added to our daily agenda.

## II

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the [11th CCP Central Committee], some reform has been made in the literature and art system. Along with the readjustment in the state's economic system, some changes have also taken place in the economic management of literary and art work. Many literary organizations have begun to pay attention to business accounting and have changed the format in which everything depends on the state. There still exist many old problems in the economic management of literature and art, and, in the process of carrying out reform, new problems have appeared. For example, one question worthy of study is how to prevent the trend of merely pursuing boxoffice value while independent business accounting is being carried out. In addition, problems concerning the reform of organization and management in artistic production, as well as its cadre system, also need to be considered and solved.

The reform of the art production system is painstaking and complicated, and there are no readymade regulations to be acted upon. It must be done through practice and by using historical experience. In my opinion, there are two points requiring consideration. One is to carry out reform based on the scientific principle and to eliminate the antiscience attitude in the literature and art system. The other is to carry out reform based on the principle of socialist democracy and to eliminate all antisocialist attitudes in the literature and art system. In other words, the literature and art system should become more scientific and democratic. Only thus can it be perfected.

By scientific, I mean that our literature and art system must accord with the special laws of artistic production. A literary creation is a mental production, a creative work. It is impossible for writers and artists to create works at the will of others, and it is even more impossible to compel them to create works. They can only create works based on their own strong points and on the general demands of society and our era. It is not by a certain "inspector" or leaders that literary output should be examined, but by public opinion and social practice. The principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority and the lower level to the higher must not be applied simplistically to artistic and

academic problems. Without contention and competition, artistic production cannot develop, because the value of art cannot be decided by the special interest of some individual, but must be decided by the whole society. Free contention among different schools in creative work and free contention among different opinions in theory is an indispensable condition for the flourishing of artistic work. An atmosphere full of contest, competition, discussion and contention is necessary for a flourishing and prosperous artistic garden. Lenin said, "It is indisputable that in literary work, there is no mechanical balance, standard or minority being subordinate to majority. It is also indisputable that in this field, a vast world of personal creativeness and hobby, a vast world of thinking and imagination, of forms and contents, must absolutely be guaranteed." This statement by Lenin penetratingly summarizes the special nature of artistic production. However, our literature and art system cares little about the special nature of artistic work, and to some extent, measures taken in the management of political work and even those in the management of military affairs are mechanically applied to the management of art, among which the most conspicuous example is that of treating artistic and academic problems by means of power and administrative orders. Our slogan is: "All men are equal before the law," but, owing to the proliferation of administrative orders, in treating artistic and academic problems, the principle of the "lower level being subordinate to the higher" is usually adopted. The party Central Committee calls for "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," but also, owing to the proliferation of administrative orders, it usually becomes unavoidable to support certain styles or schools by compulsory means while forcibly suppressing others. Is this in compliance with the law of art? To put into practice the scientific principle, it is necessary that free creation and free competition in art be guaranteed by rules and regulations, and that compulsory administrative means be prohibited and arbitrary use of power be restricted. This prohibition and restriction is not meant to abolish the leadership and supervision of the party and state in literary work, but to substitute a scientific leadership for a simplistic one, to substitute a supervision mainly by social means for that by administrative means. By social means is meant public opinion and competition. Through literary criticism and competition, the party and state encourage and support active and advanced things and, at the same time, criticize and overcome inactive and backward things, so as to guarantee that literary and art work follows the socialist road. Neither is the prohibition against compulsory administrative means in settling artistic and academic problems meant to prohibit all administrative measures. In settling problems concerning administrative affairs relating to literary work, administrative measures can certainly be taken, but these measures must not be expanded to an unlimited degree.

By saying democratic, I mean that our literary system must reflect the principle of literary and art work being managed by the broad masses and by literary and art workers. Our literary and art workers are mental workers engaging in mental production. They are a component part of the laboring people. First, they enjoy the right to participate in the management of the state's cultural affairs; second, they enjoy the right to engage in free literary creation. The constitution of our country clearly stipulates that "the state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and insures that the people have the right to participate in the management of state affairs and in all economic and cultural undertakings,

and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel"; and that "citizens have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation, and other cultural activities. The state encourages and assists the creative endeavors of citizens engaging in science, education, literature, art, journalism, publishing, public health, sports and other cultural work." What is now occurring is that the right of the literary and art workers to manage cultural affairs is not effectively guaranteed. As a matter of fact, their position as the masters of literature and art has often been overlooked. What they have is the duty to be ruled but not the right to participate in management. Usually, a number of important matters are decided by certain leaders, or even by untrained leaders who know nothing about literature and art. The right of the masses to participate in management is not an abstract thing. It not only includes the right to speak, but also, and what is more important, the power to make decisions, the veto power, and the right to vote, to supervise and dismiss their leaders. All these rights and powers must be guaranteed by concrete rules and regulations. As mentioned above, the right of literary and art workers to engage in literary and art creation is not fully guaranteed. In the recent period, there was often flagrant interference. Especially in some basic units, some of the leading cadres not only willfully violated the democratic rights in art of literary and art workers, but also infringed upon their human rights and punished them by deducting part of their pay and conducting personal attacks. Therefore, concrete and clear legislation on art must be enacted and those who run counter to this legislation must be punished. In this way, the democratic right of literary and art workers stipulated in the constitution can be guaranteed.

### III

In order to reform the literature and art system, some corresponding measures should be adopted. As to what these measures are, it is necessary for departments concerned to put forward a practicable program, which should be formulated by the democratic method of collecting opinions from the broad masses of literary and art workers and by conducting deepgoing investigation and study that employs scientific methods. Some of the measures can be adopted immediately, but for others, only after experiments are conducted and experience gained, can it be decided whether and how they will be adopted. Although some of the measures are reasonable and it is imperative that they be taken, conditions do not exist for their immediate adoption. They must be applied in practice when conditions are created. In this connection, I would like to offer some concrete suggestions as reference materials for those concerned.

1. Reform the system of examining literary works. They need not be examined at each level but only by literary and art organizations themselves. Under ordinary circumstances, art troupes, film studios, editorial offices and other organizations have the right to decide independently what is to be performed, filmed or published, without interference from the state. Various shortcomings may exist in some of the literary works and they can be pointed out by means of literary criticism. Rewards should be granted by the state to excellent works, performances or achievements in theoretical research. The method of criticism and rewards should be used instead of the method of compulsory prohibition and forcible permeation. The state can interfere by compulsory means only with

regard to those things that violate the constitution or run counter to socialist rules and regulations. As to those things that have had the worst influence, they can even be banned or investigated and responsibility affixed in accordance with the law. But such interference should be strictly in accordance with the law and not stem from the words of some individual. To transfer the examination power to the lower level is advantageous for bringing into full play the initiative and enthusiasm of the basic literary organizations and for simplifying leading organs, and will enable the leading personnel to concentrate on implementing principles and policies.

2. Establish the system of the workers congress and the system of the art committees in order to realize democratic management. Artistic production must be gradually managed by leaders elected by the masses who are ideologically good, possess a good workstyle and capabilities; the art committee, composed of experienced writers and artists whose prestige is high, acts as an adviser to literary and art organizations. The daily work of literary and art organizations must be handled by the leading cadres, and important matters must be decided by the workers congress.

3. Reform the cadre system. Literary and art organizations must be permitted to engage the services of a number of work personnel for themselves under the unified leadership of the state. As to personnel assigned by higher organs, the receiving units have the right to examine and verify, and to refuse those who are not qualified or to firmly reject those who have entered through the "back door." The ratio between professional cadres and nonprofessional cadres must be proper, and the present situation in which there is an overflow of nonprofessional personnel, and in which the administrative and political work organizations are overstaffed, should be changed. The cadre transfer system and retirement system must be properly administered in order to retain the mobility of personnel in literary and art organizations. Those who are doing a job unrelated to what they have been trained for or to what they are skilled in, must be transferred to other posts. Those who have become unsuitable for their original jobs owing to changed conditions must also be transferred to other posts suitable for them. As for the small minority of overstaffed personnel who are not suitable for this type of work, the literary and art organizations have the right to discharge them and let them be assigned to some new posts or be properly dealt with by departments concerned.

Reform requires courage and creativity as well as determination. We must take it seriously and grasp it more firmly, so as to effectively put our desire for reform into actual practice.

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IS IT TRUE THAT INDIVIDUALS HAVE BECOME RICH AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 80 p 49

[Article by Huang Liangli [7806 0357 4409] and Zhang Xingde [1728 5281 1795]]

[Text] Recently, in some large and medium-sized cities, some privately owned businesses have been restored and have developed one after another. This has played an active role in promoting production, making markets brisk and things convenient for the masses, and helping to settle people waiting to be assigned work, and has won commendation and support from the broad masses. But some people have said that this "makes individuals rich at the expense of the state."

The phrase "at the expense of the state" is simply based on what some people have seen, such as that some individuals have "muscled in" on the "business" of state enterprises. When looking at problems, instead of being misled by transient phenomena, we must try to find their essence. It is not a bad thing that some individual businesses have won over customers by offering better and quicker service, and thus have "muscled in" on the same line of business that is run by the state. To "muscle in" is, in fact, competition in socialist economic activities. Thus, having been "muscled in" on by individual businesses, the management of state enterprises has to be improved. So, from a long-term point of view, we must protect this competition between individual and state-owned enterprises, which is by no means "muscling in" on the business of state enterprises, but, on the contrary, will make the latter flourish. For example, as reported in a certain newspaper, after some individual businesses were restored and developed at the beginning of last September, the "Cai Gen Xiang Restaurant" in Yangzhou city, once famous throughout the country and abroad, had been, for a time, "encircled" by a number of individual shops and booths, and its sales volume had dropped with each passing day. The reason was that the foodstuffs supplied in the individual shops and booths were fresher and the prices lower; in addition, their business hours were longer and their service better. Therefore, the restaurant adopted a series of effective measures to learn from the strong points of the individual businesses and to offset its weaknesses. By improving the restaurant's management and its service to its customers, it was able to compete with the small shops and booths. From January to July this year, the restaurant's sales figures and profits increased greatly in comparison with those of the same period of last year. One can see from this example that the existence and proper development of individual economic units will benefit the socialist economy. It is utterly groundless to say that they are developed "at the expense of the state."

As for "individuals becoming rich," what is wrong with this? The restoration and development of the individual economy in cities and towns is advantageous in making the best possible use of men and materials, and enables people who are unable to take part in collective labor to do what is within their power. In this sense, the state's burden is lightened and, at the same time, part of the labor force is assigned work which benefits both the people and the state. It has been reported that in Nankai district in Tianjin, there were 33 families who needed assistance and who were receiving more than 800 yuan per month in relief funds. After restoration of the individual economy and after the family breadwinners had obtained licenses to run private businesses, this assistance was no longer necessary. Instead, they pay taxes every month. Another example: Last year in the central district of Chongqing, 101 young people were waiting for work assignments, and among them, quite a few were unhealthy. By taking part in individual economic activities, however, they not only found suitable work and improved their physical condition, but also lightened the state's burden. There are many more examples which could be cited.

It is a good thing "to become rich" by one's own diligence, and not by exploiting others' labor or engaging in speculation and profiteering. The income of a few individuals might be a little higher for a certain period of time as a result of these individuals' working overtime, using their high skills or providing good service to customers. This is completely justified and without fault. Is it possible for those who have become "rich" to turn their money into capital and then exploit others, as some people fear? This question requires a concrete analysis. Marxism teaches us: Only when labor force is transformed into commodity can money be transformed into capital. In our country, the buying and selling of labor is abolished, and labor is no longer a commodity. Thus, the fundamental basis for the transformation of money into capital has been eliminated. If anyone exploits others, he is engaging in illegal activity and will surely be punished in accordance with the laws of our country.

Therefore, this question has arisen because some people, influenced by the ultra-left trend of thinking, are trying to label the just and lawful business activities of individual units as the "worst kind of offense." We must correctly distinguish the lawful conduct of individual units from unlawful conduct, and support, protect and guide these individual units to manage themselves better. This is an extremely important matter with regard to further eliminating the influence of the ultraleft trend of thinking.

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